

A Critical Edition of the Historia
francoorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem
of Raymond of Aguilers.
By ; John France, B.A.

Thesis submitted to the
University of Nottingham for
The degree of Doctor of
Philosophy ; October, 1967.

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Ph.D. THESIS : A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HISTORIA
FRANCORUM OF RAYMOND OF AGUILERS

By : John France B.A.

Submitted October 1967

ABSTRACT

The Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem is an eyewitness account of the First Crusade, written by a Provencal priest, Raymond of Aguilers, who accompanied the Count of Toulouse on the Crusade. As such it is an important primary source for the History of the First Crusade.

Only ten manuscripts of the work of Raymond of Aguilers have survived, and the main purpose of this thesis has been, by collating these manuscripts, to restore the original text as written by Raymond of Aguilers. The evidence and reasoning which have led the present editor to construct the text herein contained, are to be found in the Critical Introduction.

The work of Raymond of Aguilers has twice been previously edited : by Jaques Bongars in his collection of Crusader sources, the Gesta Dei per Francos (Hanover 1611) ; by various editors of the ~~Rexnik~~ Academie Royale des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres in their collection

of Crusader sources, the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux, (Paris, 1856).

These editions are both, however, unsatisfactory, and the present text is the first to be constructed using all the known manuscripts of the work of Raymond of Aguilers.

The Historia Francorum has always raised considerable difficulties of interpretation when it has been used as a source for the First Crusade. Recent work has tended to reduce these difficulties. In the Historical Introduction the editor has tried to give an account of the latest research, and to offer his suggestions as to how the Historia Francorum may best be used. The Historical Introduction has another purpose ; in preparing the text it has been found necessary to take some account of the purposes and outlook of Raymond of Aguilers.

Various matters of special interest, such as Raymond of Aguilers use of other eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade, have been dealt with in the Appendices.

(John France)

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Chapter I

THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

RAYMOND OF AGUIERS: THE APOCALYPTIC VISION

Section I: General Considerations

The purpose of this introduction is to clarify the attitude of the author of the Historia Francorum to his work; to indicate the balance, scope and purpose of the work itself; to give some impression of its merits and demerits as a source for the First Crusade; and to suggest the most profitable ways in which it may be studied and used.

Before, however, proceeding to an analysis, it must be made clear that the work as we have it is incomplete.¹ What has survived is very definitely the work of Raymond of Aguilers, despite the inclusion of certain passages from the Gesta Francorum,² there being no textual evidence to support the suggestion of Klein³ that the work was revised by another hand. Further, the Historia was certainly written after the Crusade was over,⁴ and to this extent the writing is definitely retrospective. However, almost certainly the writer had journey notes before him,⁵ and although, as will be indicated, his work was purposive, we need not always attribute to Raymond the use of hindsight, and, if we assume it, it would be an

1. vid. inf. p. CXXXVI

2. vid. inf. Appendix II, pp. CCXXV et seq.

3. G. Klein, Raimund von Aguilers; Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Berlin, 1892).

4. vid. inf. pp. CXXXVIII - CXXXIX

5. vid. inf. pp. CXLI - CXLIII.

oversimplification to believe that he always twisted the truth in its light. Rather we must try to understand Raymond's outlook, and, as far as it can be deduced, the background to his writing.

Section II: The Question of Co-authorship

The Historia Francorum is generally simply attributed to Raymond of Aguilers, and indeed the introductory rubric in some of our oldest manuscripts simply refers to it in this way: ... liber iste Raimundi de Aguilers adiectus fuit.¹ The work itself, however, opens with a clear statement to the effect that it was the work of two men, not one:

Episcopo Vivariensi² domino meo, et omnibus orthodoxis, Pontius de Baladuno, et Raymundus, canonicus Podiensis, salutem et laboris nostri participationem.³

If, however, apart from what he himself tells us, we know little of Raymond of Aguilers, his co-author is indeed a shadowy figure.

Raymond tells us that Pontius suggested that he write the history of the great expedition:

Interfectus est ibi (Archados) Pontius de Baladuno ... cuius ego precibus ad omnes orthodoxis et maxime ad te reverende praesul Vivariensis, hoc opus scribere curavi⁴

1. vid. inf., p. 4 et n.2.

2. vid. inf., p. 4 et n.a.

3. vid. inf., pp. 4-5.

4. vid. inf., pp. 200-201.

This appears to have been Pontius's most constructive act. However, this passage does suggest a connection between Pontius and the Bishop of Viviers. The records of the Diocese of Viviers were, unhappily, largely destroyed during the Wars of Religion, and the possible true name, of which Baladuno is a latinization is a fairly common one in the region of Viviers:

Le vraie forme de son nom est peut-être Balon ou Ballon. Balon est en effet un nom de lieu qui existe dans plusieurs de nos départements, notamment dans la Charente-Inférieure et dans la Sarthe.¹

In an article which can only be described as enthusiastic rather than scholarly, Léon Védel suggests that Pontius in fact came from Balasuc, a village on the Ardèche.² Certainly from the documents quoted it appears that Balasuc was referred to in latin as Baladuno. Védel quotes the testament of Pierre de Balasuc of 1504: Testamentum nobilis Petri de Baladuno.³ This is hardly conclusive evidence, and ignores the possibility of a slightly different place name being given the same latinisation. However, Védel does claim to have found an early eleventh century Gerard

1. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, Préface, p. xxv.

2. Léon Védel: A travers le Vivrais: Balasuc et Pons de Balasuc, in the Revue Lyonnaise, 1884, pp. 153-189.

3. *ibid.*, p. 189.

of Balazuc whom he calls the father of Pontius,¹ and refers to a charter signed by Pons de Balazuc, in favour of his wife Jaquette de Trevenne, and son Jordan de Balazuc.²

What his precise evidence is for assuming that the Baladuno (presumed, they are not quoted) of his charters is Balazuc, is not made clear. Further, Védél remarks upon a marriage charter of 1120 of Jordan de Balazuc, and identifies him as the son of Pontius, although the dating makes this unlikely.³ Védél's testimony is interesting but leaves too much open, but it would seem at least possible that a noble family had, by the late eleventh century established itself in his Balazuc.

If it is possible that Pontius was a tenant of the Bishop of Viviers, it is at least equally possible that Raymond of Aguilers had his own reasons for dedicating the work to Léger of Viviers. The dioceses of Viviers and Le Puy were closely linked. The monastery of St. Theofred, for example, had lands in both dioceses.⁴ Again this opens the possibility that the friendship of Raymond and Pontius, karissimus meus in domino,⁵ antedated the Crusade.

1. Védél, op.cit., p. 180.

2. *ibid.*, p. 164.

3. *ibid.*

4. Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de St. Chaffre du Monastier (ed. U. Chevalier) *vid.* XVII, p. 22 et CCXLI, p. 88 especially.

5. *vid. inf.*, p. 202.

Other writers not dependent upon Raymond's work, mention Pontius,¹ and although Raymond tells us very little about him he does say that Pontius accompanied the Count² in the church of St. Peter at Antioch on the day of the finding of the Lance.³ We may then suppose that on the crusade Pontius occupied sufficiently prominent a place in the suite of the Count to draw the attention of people other than Provençals to him.

To attempt to divide responsibility for the Historia Francorum between the two men is hardly a profitable line of investigation. From the style, and the consistency of the standpoint the work is clearly that of one man. As Pontius died at the seige of Arqa,⁴ and, as it is evident that the Historia was completed after the end of the Crusade,⁵ it may be assumed that the one man was Raymond of Aguilers. Pontius, however, if he occupied reasonably high office with the Count of Toulouse, may have acted as Raymond's source of information on occasion, but how, and when, is impossible to say. It would be tempting to see Pontius as the source for the detailed description of battles, on which, as a soldier, he was better

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1. e.g. in Robert the Monk, Historia Ihierosolimitana, in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, p. 857A.
 2. vid. inf., p. 109.
 3. The evening of the 14th June, 1098; H. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la Première Croisade (Paris, 1902) pp. 166, (283). All dates in this edition, unless otherwise stated, are taken from this work.
 4. vid. inf., pp. 200-201.
 5. vid. inf. pp. 138 CXXXVIII - CXXXIX.

qualified to comment than his co-author. However, Dorylaeum, which occurred in Pontius's lifetime, is ill-described, while the seige of Jerusalem, which occurred after his death, is described in considerable military and technical detail.

We must accept Raymond's statement that the Historia owed its inception to the suggestion of Pontius de Baladuno, but the chief responsibility for the actual writing of the work undoubtedly rests with Raymond of Aguilers. It is therefore about the figure of Raymond of Aguilers that any inquiry into the nature of his work must revolve.

Section III: Raymond of Aguilers, the Man and his Work

Raymond gives, in the course of his work, very few personal details. However, in the first line of his work Raymond tells his reader that he was Canonius Podiensis,¹ i.e. canon of the cathedral church of St. Mary of Le Puy. Further, Raymond apparently was a deacon at the beginning of the Crusade, for he tells us that at the second siege of Antioch he was elevated to the priesthood.² From about that time he appears to have been the chaplain of the Count of Toulouse for at the time of the expedition to Barra³ it is clear that he was part of the household of the Count of Toulouse.⁴ It would be reasonable to assume that in the earlier part of the journey he had been attached to the household of his Bishop, Ademar of Le Puy, about whose movements he seems reasonably well informed. Beyond this, his obviously fervent faith, and his devotion to Pontius de Baladune, Raymond gives no personal details, but it may be possible to infer from his work rather more than is openly admitted. The only external piece of information which could possibly refer to Raymond comes from a charter of

1. vid. inf., p. 5.

2. vid. inf., p. 202.

3. September, 1098.

4. vid. inf., p. 151.

Ademar dated in the eighteenth year of his reign,¹ which is signed by one Raymond d'Aiguilhes, Chancelier de l'évêque du Puy,² but this identification is far from certain.

Raymond's full name is not given in the text of any of the manuscripts which survive, but only in the introductory title to his work.³ Aguilers would appear to be the latin form of the name of the little village of Aguilhe, just north of Le Puy, and indeed this is the generally accepted view.⁴ A.C. Krey appears to believe that it really means the village of St. Gilles, and is a misreading for Sancti Egidii.⁵ The point is considered but rejected by Klein.⁶ This is not a very convincing misreading, and it would seem that Aguilers is in fact Aguilhe. It appears not to have been a family

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1. The dating of Ademar's reign is extremely obscure; a likely date would seem to be 1079; G.J. d'Ademar Laubaume, Ademar de Montell. Légat du Pape sur la première Croisade, (Le Puy, 1910), Chap. I, p. 3 et seq.
 2. Adhémar-Laubaume, op.cit., Chap. II, p. 8. But Laubaume cites as his sources Gallia Christiana, D. de St. Marthe, vol. II, col. 700 and Histoire Générale de Languedoc, Vie et Vaissète, vol. III, Lib. XV, p. 220. Neither of these works, in any of their editions, mentions this charter. Further he cites the Chronique de l'abbaye d'Aiguebelles, p. 449. I have not been able to find an edition of this. The reference seems very doubtful.
 3. vid. inf., p. 4, n.2.
 4. C. Klein, op.cit., Chap. II, p. 30 et seq.
 5. A.C. Krey, The First Crusade (Princeton, 1924), Chap. VII, 5, p. 272.
 6. C. Klein, op.cit., loc.cit.

name.¹

The city of Le Puy was a famous pilgrimage centre by the late eleventh century. In what is now called "La Ville Sainte", the old city, was the famous shrine of Our Lady of Puy (now Notre Dame de France), while out at the village of Aguilhe was the famous shrine of St. Michael, standing on a precipitous finger of volcanic rock. In addition, Le Puy stands at the intersection of the two great pilgrim routes to the greatest shrine of the age, after Rome, St. James of Compostella. The two routes were:

Cluny - Le Puy - Conques - Moissac

Paris - La Regardine - Le Puy - Brioude - St. Gilles - Toulouse²

Le Puy prospered on the pilgrim trade, and Bréhier has suggested that by the late eleventh century a prosperous middle class had arisen in the town, the foundations of whose wealth lay in the pilgrim trade.³

This then, is the background of Raymond of Aguilers. He lived at the heart of the French pilgrim movement; the faithful proceeding to the shrines of the Blessed were part of his

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1. Abbé Duras, Histoire de la Noblesse du Velay, (Le Puy, 1883), pp. 28-29, cites also the forms Aquilla (1226), Agulia (1225, 1229) and de Aculea (1312), but fails to find any family connection. It appears that most of the bearers of the name were clerics.
 2. Bréhier, Adémar de Monteil: un Evêque à la première Croisade, (Le Puy, 1923), p. 4 et seq.
 3. *ibid.*

daily life. The fervour of those who, reaching the dangerous slopes of the Aguilhe at evening, dug holes in its side by the rough track ascending it,¹ in order to sleep close under the protection of 'Holy Michael Archangel', the Wonderworker, shield and protector of the faithful, must have been familiar to him. To Raymond of Aguilers, the phrase Peregrinae ecclesiae Francorum² must have had a special relevance.

Further, it must be remembered that pilgrimage in the eleventh century still had undertones of violence, to say the very least. The pilgrim was the prey of the unscrupulous baron, the brigand, the thief and the swindler. The pilgrim cut across the normally limited horizons of those across whose lands he passed; in a Europe where, cities apart, the horizon delimited the physical confines of existence, the pilgrims represented the only mass movement breaking out of these bounds. But if pilgrimage was hard and difficult, it was made easier, at least in Southern France, by the rise of Cluny. If the pilgrim had always to fight, if only against poor roads and inclement weather, Cluny now added a new dimension to his struggle, as well as providing material aid. The Order of Cluny had been founded in the lands of Poitou,³ and by the mid-eleventh century it had houses all across central

1. The holes are still there.

2. vid. inf., p. 133.

3. Pignot, Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny, (Paris, 1868), vol. I.

France to the Rhône, spanning the pilgrim routes to the shrine of St. James of Compostella. The Cluniacs thus became the helpers of pilgrims; equally significantly their attention became focussed on Spain, where Cross and Crescent were engaged in a bitter war. From the early eleventh century,

Cluny ... avait placé en quelque sorte sous son protectorat spirituel, les états chrétiens de l'Espagne du nord, et entrepris la réforme de leur clergé, en même temps qu'il préoccupait de leur assurer des alliances du côté de la France où son influence était souveraine, ainsi qu'auprès du Saint - Siège.¹

Under the aegis of Cluny, led by its great Abbot, St. Hugh,² the ideas of pilgrimage, war and moral reform fused together, producing in 1064 what Boissonnade has not hesitated to call la première croisade internationale,³ the Crusade of Barbastro so named for its capture of that city.

Le Puy lay almost at the heart of the main centre of Cluniac influence; only 20 kilometers away lay the great new abbey of La Chaise Dieu. Its influence in the Diocese of Le Puy was enormously strengthened by the appointment of Adhémar

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1. Boissonnade, Cluny, la Papauté, et la première Croisade internationale, contre les Sarracins d'Espagne, in Revue des questions Historiques, vol. XI, October, 1932, p. 267.
 2. le saint abbé de Cluny, Hugues le Grand avait à cette époque une influence toute particulière sur ses compatriotes, auxquels il inspirait sa pieuse ardeur, Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 274.
 3. ibid., p. 271.

of Monteil as its Bishop. For long Le Puy had been a standing affront to Cluny. In 1069, on the death of its Bishop, Stephen of Polignac, Bishop of Clermont¹ seized possession of the diocese; a notorious simoniac, Stephen proceeded to enrich his family, the house of Chapeuil,² at the expense of the church and the monast^eries of Le Puy.³ At the Council of Clermont in 1076 Stephen, owing largely to the influence of St. Hugh of Cluny, was formally excommunicated. Despite this, Stephen, supported by his powerful family, continued to hold the diocese of Le Puy. St. Hugh then continued the struggle, and pressed the Pope for action. In March 1077 Gregory VII ordered the Canons of Le Puy to proceed to the election of a new Bishop, and in May he appointed Hugh, Bishop of Die⁴ as his Legate, charged with restoring order in the diocese of Le Puy. Not till 1078 did the canons of Le Puy relent, and Hugh presented to them, for election, Adhémar of Monteil.⁵ It was a good choice; Adhémar was a known and energetic reformer; he was also related to the house of Fay-Chapeuil. The exact date of

1. Adhémar-Laubaume, op.cit., Chap. III, p. 13 et seq.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

4. Hugh, Bishop of Die, 1074-92; P.B. Gams, Series Episcoporum (Leipzig, 1931) Gallia 48, pp. 544.

5. Adhémar-Laubaume, op.cit., Chap. III, p. 13 et seq.

Adhémar's installation is not known, although it may have been as early as 1079.¹ The opening years of Adhémar's reign were marked by a bitter struggle against the local families, particularly that of Fay-Chapteuil, for the liberty of the church. To combat the local nobility Adhémar employed a fine mixture of force and diplomacy, using both secular and ecclesiastical sanctions. Faced with the demoralization and corruption of his local clergy, the new Bishop of Le Puy used the monks of Cluny in the interests of reform. The outcome of the struggle was an unqualified victory for Adhémar, who, at some time in the mid-1080's may even have been able to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.² The ecclesiastical crisis in the diocese of Le Puy, precipitated by the appointment of Adhémar, had ended in the victory of the reform party and the vindication of episcopal authority in the Velay, but the magnitude of Adhémar's personal success³ must not be allowed to cloak the importance of the essential factor in the struggle for power in the Velay; the influence of Cluny.

This, then, is the background against which the figure of Raymond of Aguilers must be seen; his personal religious

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1. ibid. Also, Bréhier, Adhémar de Monteil. Un Evêque à la première Croisade, (Le Puy, 1923), p. 12.
 2. Adhémar-Laubaume, op.cit., Chap. III, pp. 16-17.
 3. It was a personal tribute to Adhémar that Heraclius, Vice-Count of Polignac, head of the house of Fay-Chapteuil should have become his standard-bearer on the Crusade; vid. inf. 11. 101 - 130.

outlook, all too clearly fervent, must have been profoundly affected by the pilgrim movement, the Cluniac development, and the bitter struggle for power in the Velay. There can be little doubt that Raymond himself was a reformer; his admiration for Adhémar is evident,¹ and hardly that of one of the reluctant canons of 1078. Raymond of Toulouse supported the reform party,² and it is to be presumed that Adhémar had a hand in choosing Raymond of Aguilers as his chaplain after the liberation of Antioch. Further, if Raymond's religious outlook must have been affected by his life at the heart of the pilgrim movement, the special milieu of the movement in Southern France must have affected him. Miss Rosalind Hill has remarked; 'It is impossible to understand Raymond of Aguilers without seeing the wonder working shrines of Provence'.³ The great prestige of these shrines is immensely important in the consideration of that popular movement, the Crusade, which sprang up, above all in Southern France, from the pilgrim movement. Raymond lived in the midst of these shrines; at Le Puy itself there were those of Our Lady and St. Michael; further north was Cluny, and away to the South were St. Gilles and St. James of Compostella. Very close by indeed, and endowed with vast riches and immense

1. vid. inf., pp. 136-137.

2. Hills, L. et J., Raymond IV de Saint Gilles, Comte de Toulouse (Toulouse, 1959), Chap. I, p. 15 et seq.

3. In a personal letter.

prestige was the greatest of the shrines of Southern France, that of St. Faith of Conques. Miracles abounded in the cult of St. Faith;¹ yearly thousands paid a huge tribute of devotion and gifts to the little golden, jewel studded idol of Conques.² The cult of the saints was, of course, a preoccupation of all Christendom, but Provence was the centre, par excellence, where shrines abounded and the devotion to relics reached extraordinary heights.

All this undoubtedly made its impression upon Raymond of Aguilers, but a further element must be taken into consideration. Raymond's education appears to have been very much that of the priest of his day; his Latin is better than that of most, but he shows no acquaintance with the classics and quotes only the Bible. His outlook is Christian, and narrowly Latin. Pilgrimage, even armed pilgrimage, in a Christian view of history, had a special precedent; the journeying of the tribes of Israel, and especially the forty year flight from Egypt into the land 'flowing with milk and honey'. The application of this in the context of the Crusade is obvious. Most of the contemporary writers on the Crusade see the Franks, the Crusaders, as the elect of God, the chosen people; thus Robert the Monk³ in the prologue to his work:

1. See the edition in Migne: P.L., vol. 141, col. 127-164: Liber de Miraculis sanctae Fidis; Bernardi Scholastici, written ca. 1010.

2. vid. photograph p. frontispiece.

3. Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, p. 723.

Nam quis regum aut principum possit subigere tot civitates et castella, natura aut seu humino ingenio praemunita, nisi Francorum. 'beata gens cuius est Dominus Deus eius, populus quem elegit in hereditatem sibi'.¹

For Raymond it is quite natural that at Antioch the Crusaders should be urged to sacrifice themselves, even unto death, ad decus Romanae Ecclesiae et gentis Francorum.² This identification of the Franks as the chosen of God is made more explicitly, later in the work, in a passage of the last vision of Peter Bartholemew. Allegedly Christ is speaking:

Hi (Iudaeis) quoniam increduli fuerunt, odio eos habui, et inferiores omnibus gentibus stabilivi. Videte itaque ne increduli sitis. Alioquin, vos remanentibus cum Iudaeis, alios populos assumam...³

This element, this identification, is further inextricably confused with another aspect of popular religious enthusiasm; eschatological fervour. This finds its most explicit expression in the apocalyptic evangelism, much of it devoted to raising support for the Crusade, of Robert of Arbrissel, the effect of one of whose sermons is here described by his biographer, Bauldry, Archbishop of Dol:⁴

1. Psalm XXXII, 12. Raymond uses the same Psalm; vid. inf. p. 124, n. 2.

2. vid. inf., p. 123.

3. vid. inf., p. 226.

4. Bauldry, Archbishop of Dol, 1107-1130; P.B. Gams, op.cit., Gallia, p. 547.

Unde factum est ut eo (Roberto) audito multi corda sua percuterent, suisque pravis conversationibus abrenuntiarent. Alii domum suam revertebantur, praedicationibus eius meliorati, alii secum demorari cupiebant, eiusque famulatu deservire, et irremoti consodales ei adhaerere rogitabant.¹

The text of this sermon was apparently Qui audit, dicat, veni (Revelation XXII, 17). Robert preached before Urban II at the Council of Anjou of 6th-12th February, 1096, and was then appointed as a preacher of the crusade.²

Given such preaching, therefore, it is not surprising, in the words of Sir Steven Runciman, that:

to ignorant minds the distinction between Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem was not clearly defined.³

Raymond of Aguilers himself shared just this kind of enthusiasm; many difficulties of interpretation have arisen simply through the failure to recognise that Raymond is essentially concerned to place the crusade in its eschatological framework. Raymond's oft expressed delight in slaughter, above all his delight in the ghastly bloodbath of the capture of Jerusalem,⁴ reflect

1. Bauldry, Archb. of Dol, Vita B. Roberti de Arbrissello: Migne, P.L. vol. 162, col. 1050.

2. *ibid.*, col. 1050-1051.

3. Runciman, History of the Crusades, vol. I, The First Crusade, Book II, Chap. III, p. 115.

4. *vid. inf.*, pp. 345-347.

his eschatological preoccupations. The slaughter at Jerusalem was only the actual reflection of the Apocalyptic vision; those who had fought their way to Jerusalem 'the Golden', purified from sin by the expiation of the Crusade, had overcome the legions of Antichrist. That Raymond felt this way is evinced by his evident approval of the massacre at Jerusalem, and by the immense pains he takes to place the events of the Crusade within their proper (for him) framework. Many of the elements in Raymond's religious outlook were shared by all men in Christian Europe, but because he emerged from the special religious milieu of Provence, and because all the elements which made up that milieu merged naturally into the crusade, absorbing also a certain eschatological preoccupation, we find in Raymond's work a certain singularity of concentration. For Raymond of Aguilers, the crusade may have been accomplished by men, but only by the iussu et instinctu Dei;¹ the Crusade revealed the hand of God at work, it was the Gesta Dei, only per Francos. Raymond, like Milton, was concerned to ... justify the ways of God to men.² The Next World, for Raymond of Aguilers, could, and indeed had, impinged upon this. Recognition of this is crucial when dealing with the affair of the Holy Lance, which has always been central in any discussion of the Historia Francorum. The work of Raymond

1. vid. inf., p. 279.

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... familiarisé avec les traditions hagiographiques, il (Raymond) savait comment présenter une vision et en faire le source d'intrassables réflexions morales sur la conduite de l'armée, sur les chefs et sur leurs exploits.¹

In view of the stylized presentation of the visions this has much force, but then Raymond of Aguilers, or even Steven Valentine, confronted with a vision, would naturally have placed it within their frame of reference, that of traditional hagiography. Further Raymond was capable of incredible honesty, even concerning the Lance; thus he chose to make public the interrogation by himself and the Bishop of Orange² of Peter Bartholemew, which indicated that the latter was a liar.³ Admittedly his own prejudice glossed this over, but the fact is that he chose to make public a record of a highly embarrassing interview. It is at least possible that Peter started as a simple visionary, and that contact with the chaplains of the Count affected his thought strongly. But in any case it must be realized that the interests of the poor and the lesser clergy were coincidental to a remarkable

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Alphandéry points to the eschatological fervour which characterized the preaching, often unofficial, of the Crusade, amongst the poor, who, in crude and raw form, took it literally and sought as the elect, the consummation of the Crusade in its purest form. He contrasts this with the more calculating political crusading of the nobility and the great Lords.²

The cleavage between the leadership and the basic driving force of the Crusade came to crisis point after the fall of Antioch, with the bickering of the leaders, and the death of the one great man who served both as a champion of the poor, and a moderating influence amongst the leaders, Adhémar of Le Puy; sustentamentum pauperum,³ the Gesta calls him. The misery of the poor at Antioch, the frustration and anger at the inaction of the leaders, in the view of Alphandéry, reached explosion point after the death of Adhémar, and this frustrated rage was expressed in the form of visions, by quemdam rusticum ... Provincialem genere,⁴ Peter Bartholemew. The visionary form taken was, of course, totally in accordance with the eschatological

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spirit of the poor crusaders; of the vision of August 2nd 1098, Alphandéry remarks:

Il est visible que cette première vision, comme les autres qui vont marquer la route, est un signe de l'impatience populaire.¹

Elements of popular indignation can indeed even be found in the first visions, revealing the Holy Lance, with the criticism of Adhémar implied by the words of St. Andrew:

Cur negligit episcopus praedicare et commonere et cum cruce quam praefert cotidie signare populum? etenim multum prodesset illis.²

Again, in the response of St. Andrew to Peter's refusal, in view of his poverty to approach the leaders, a note of contempt for the rich is struck:

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This bitterness may reflect the popular fear of abandonment by the princes, which perhaps was what led Adhémar to use the vision of the priest Steven Valentine, to get the leaders to

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swear not to run away.¹ But it is in the great vision of Peter Bartholemew of the night of the 3rd/4th August 1098, only 24 hours after the death of the Papal Legate, that are revealed the anger, fears and desires of the people. Significantly the words were put into the mouth of the now dead Adhémar, who was known to be a friend of the poor; nonetheless for his early scepticism of the Lance,² the Bishop has been punished; Ob hoc itaque, in infernum deductus sum.³ His salvation, it appears, has only been achieved by his charity to the poor at the time of his elevation to the Episcopate:

Reddidit mihi Dominus
... vestimentum quod vides, quia cum Episcopatus ordinem
suscepi, illud pro Deo cuidam pauperi tribui.⁴

A not unimportant factor at this time, and by his, albeit delayed, acceptance of the Holy Lance:

Nihil de omnibus causis de patria
mea detuli. adeo mihi profuit sicut haec candela, quam
amici mei hic pro me obtulerunt: et illi tres denarii,
quos ego lanceae obtuli.⁵

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1. vide, Gesta, (Hill), LX, xxiv, pp. 58-59.
 2. vid. inf., p. 100.
 3. vid. inf., p. 138.
 4. vid. inf., pp. 138-139.
 5. vid. inf., p. 139.

This however, was merely setting the scene. The Bishop then goes on to relay the instructions of Christ, quid per me loquitur Dominus¹ for the conduct of the Crusade. This program, for it is little less, is virtually a popular manifesto, but one with a strong Provençal bias. Adhémar first reproaches the Count of Toulouse for having given Prima donum quod vobis contulit Dominus (i.e. Nicaea) to the Emperor Alexius and the Byzantines, inimicis vestris.² However, still addressing the Count, Adhémar assures him that God, propter bonitatem suam³ has granted him the Holy Lance as a sign of His support, and that this has gained Antioch for the Franks. However, it is emphasised Et non donavit vobis ita facere de hac civitate sicut de altera facistis.⁴ This, of course, is a bitter blow at the Count's pre-Byzantine policy, and clearly reflects popular anti-Greek feeling, but if the Count is blamed for the loss of Nicaea, it is most strongly implied that he, and he alone, was responsible for its disposal, and therefore is equally responsible for the disposal, to a Western leader, of the city of Antioch. Further, as a sign of his leadership, and of the favour of God, the Holy Lance has been delivered to him. In this view the Count is

1. vid. inf., p. 141.

2. ibid.

3. ibid.

4. vid. inf., p. 142.

definitely the leader of the Crusade. But, contrary to the expressed view of the Count of St. Gilles on the subject, the vision displays a curious indifference as to who should actually hold the city. An undertone of hostility to Bohemond may be detected, but the chief preoccupation is that the city should be delivered over to someone who iusticiam Dei tenere voluerit.¹ This insistence on justice is, of course, natural, and runs through Peter's visions: the poor were less concerned who should hold Antioch, than that they, during their sojourn there, should be protected fairly. Raymond of Aguilers himself, speaking of the state of chaos reigning in Antioch that summer remarks:

Nec in civitate iudex
aliquis erat qui posset vel vellet discurrere causas,
sed quantum quisque poterat, eo modus iniuriarum venit.²

The Count is further urged, having, in consultation with the other leaders, chosen a ruler, to choose a Patriarch, qui sit de vestra lege.³ Again the anti-Greek note is struck, for at this time the Greek Patriarch, John the Oxite, probably owing to the good offices of Adhémar, still ruled in Antioch.⁴

1. vid. inf., p. 142.

2. vid. inf., p. 136.

3. vid. inf., p. 143.

4. But his position was never secure. The letter of the leaders of 11th September, 1098 refers to ... haereticos (footnote continued on next page)

Most important of all the council of leaders was advised to draw up plans for the continuation of the crusade: petite a Domino consilium de via propter quam venistis.¹ Here, of course, was the crux of the whole matter. It was the quarrels of the leaders which were holding up the Crusade, at least in the eyes of the poor. For the rich, and the knights, Antioch, plague apart, was a good resting place. People like Godfrey could comfortably travel from it to areas of special interest to them, like Edessa. But for the poor, amongst whom it is safe to assume that the toll of the plague was heaviest, to remain in friendly country, which could not be pillaged for sustenance⁽ⁱⁿ⁾, was difficult, hence the crowds of poor² who joined the expedition of Raymond Peleth,³ and was made intolerable by the near anarchy prevailing in the city as tension mounted between Provençal and Norman. They resented the delaying of the march on to the delivery of Jerusalem, with all its Apocalyptic overtones, hence the rolling threat, so reminiscent of that earlier pilgrimage, the flight

autem, Graecos et Armenos, Syros Iacobitosque..., Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, (Innsbruck, 1901), XVI, p. 164. He was deposed in 1100; Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., Chap. XII, The Foundation of the Latin States, 1098-1118, H.S. Fink, p. 387.

1. vid. inf., p. 144.
2. For a description of this raid, vid. Gesta (ed. R. Hill) Lib. X, xxx, pp. 73-74. Raymond refers to it only in passing, vid. inf., p. 165 et n.b.
3. Gesta, loc.cit.

of the children of Israel from Egypt:

Jerusalem est
prope vos decem dies; et si non vultis tenere
suprascripta de decem annis non ibitis in Iherusalem.
Et post decem annos reducam infideles in honore, et
centum de illis praevallebuntur adversus mille de vobis.¹

In passing, having ordered severe measures against deserters, Adhémar strongly counsels reconciliation between Bohemond and the Count of Toulouse, and orders that the instructions regarding Antioch should be applied to any cities captured; presumably this refers especially to Jerusalem.²

This policy, and that is not too strong a word to use, continued to be promoted in almost all the remaining visions of Peter Bartholemew. Particular emphasis was layed upon getting the Crusade to Jerusalem, and this was often coupled with an insistent demand that the lot of the poor should be remedied. In the vision at Marra of early December, it is even demanded that a tenth should be set aside for the poor,³ and indeed this was eventually done.⁴ It is noteworthy that in this vision Saints Peter and Andrew appear as poor ill-dressed men, because, in the words of St. Peter:

1. vid. inf., pp. 144 et n.a.-145 et n.a.

2. vid. inf., p. 146.

3. vid. inf., pp. 171-172.

4. vid. inf., p. 214.

Sed volumus tibi in hoc habitu (sic) apparere, ut cognoscas quantum proficit qui Deo devote servit.¹

However, we are told, Et hoc dicto, tales fuerunt ut nihil eis clarius, nihil pulchrius.² Once again is to be noted that powerful element in Raymond's work, of identifying the poor as the elect of God, in a strongly eschatological sense.

It may be said then, that Raymond of Aguilers had very good cause for recounting with such care and detail the doings and visions of Peter Bartholemew. They engaged his sympathies, and in their effect appeared as the objective manifestation of the divine will, which he believed to be the moving power behind the crusade. For other writers this is true also, but it is not so openly stated. Raymond of Aguilers saw the Crusade in its cosmological context at his first level of vision; for others it was less evident. In the Historia Francorum we are never far away from the breeding presence of the Almighty; nor indeed are we in the Gesta Francorum or the Historia of Fulcher, but in the day-to-day concerns of these men, many of which they share with Raymond, the cosmological aspects of their task are relegated to the background; the Gesta's concern with the horses, the good canon of Chartres occasional faintheartedness, these elements, at once more

1. vid. inf., p. 169.

2. vid. inf., p. 169.

familiar and less dominating, hold our attention. Raymond presents the modern reader with a cosmological outlook and an eschatological expectation, shared no doubt by these other writers, but found in the Historia Francorum in a quintessential form.

But Raymond of Aguilers had other and less esoteric reasons for accepting the visions of Peter Bartholemew. There was the general sympathy of the lesser clergy for the poor (quite apart, as far as it can be separated from the eschatological preoccupation) but above all there was the fact that Peter was also a Provençal.

From the first there was a strong element of Provençal patriotism in the visions of Peter Bartholemew, and of course it is this that has led writers like Klein to see in the visions no more than a plot by the Count of Toulouse and his agents. It is to Provençal leaders that Peter was commanded to reveal his visions which led to the revelation of the Lance:

Congrega episcopum Podiensem et Comitem Sancti Aegidii
et Petrum Raimundum de Alto Pullo. Et haec dices ad
illos...¹

In contrast all our sources make it clear that the vision of the priest Stephen was revealed to all of the leaders.² Only

1. vid. inf., p. 92.

2. vid. inf., p. 106.

Provençals appear to have been present at the finding of the Lance.¹ Far more important, however, is the light in which the Count of Toulouse was seen in these visions. The Lance was given to the Count, and Peter's first vision after the invention of the Lance was quite specific on the subject:

Ecce Deus donavit
Comiti quod nulli unquam donare voluit, et constituit
illum vexilliferum istius exercitus, siquidem perse-
veraverit in amore eius.²

The conditioning of the gift is to be significant later. The matter was affirmed in the great vision of Adhémar of the night of 2nd/3rd August 1098, in which, as has been indicated,³ the Count is clearly seen as the leader of the Crusade.

Peter Bartholemew's visions, in fact, suffer from a certain internal tension; on the one hand he is the spokesman of the poor; on the other a kind of Provençal champion. At first the two were not incompatible. The Count of Toulouse had a very large number of poor attached to his army,⁴ and the number swelled as it became apparent that his was the only force engaged in significant military operations after the

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1. Gesta (ed. R. Hill), Lib. IX, xxiiii, pp. 57-58; also vid. inf., p. 109.
 2. vid. inf., pp. 110-111.
 3. vid. sup. pp. XXXII - XXXIII.
 4. Porges, op.cit., p. 10, n.46.

fall of Antioch. Indeed Raymond of Aguilers suggests that it was to cope with the large numbers of poor pilgrims that the Count decided on a razzia into Saracen territory in September 1098:

Rursus comes congregavit milites suos, ut plebem pauperum in Hispaniam¹ conduceret, quae fame et taedio Antiochiae deficiebat.²

The army of Toulouse never appears to have been very well disciplined, and the Hills have suggested that this reflected the relative weakness of the feudal bond in Provencal society.³ William, Count of Rouerge, who joined the army of Toulouse on the Crusade had fought a six year war with the Count,⁴ while Gaston de Béarn, at the siege of Jerusalem, is found working for the North French.⁵ Further the Count of Toulouse appears to have had a quite disproportionate number of clerics with him, none of whom were totally under his authority, and by the time of the siege of Marra his cavalry force seems to have been sadly depleted.⁶ All these factors probably made the

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1. Raymond, uses this term elsewhere; it appears to mean roughly Saracen held land to the South, and reflects simply the geographical proximity of Provence to Saracen Spain.
 2. vid. inf., p. 149.
 3. Hills, op.cit., Chap. I, pp. 22.
 4. ibid., Chap. I, p. 8.
 5. Vid. inf., p. 331 et n.a.
 6. vid. inf., pp. 189-190.

Count of Toulouse far more open to popular pressure than the rest of the leaders, and indeed this was to affect strongly his conduct of operations.¹ More positively, the Count is mentioned by Raymond as having a strong concern for the poor even at a very early stage in the crusade, and this was demonstrated again at the siege of Antioch.² The high prestige, and known generosity of the Count of St. Gilles for a time obscured this basic tension. Throughout the autumn and winter of 1098 the campaigning of the Count attracted the poor to him,³ and his tolerance (at the very least) of Peter Bartholemew, must have acted upon the poor as a guarantee of good will. The inner tension of Peter's visions, however, had to surface; on the way to Barra Peter had a vision, the revelation of which led to an open clash between himself and the Count of Toulouse. The Count, of course, could never countenance what would appear to be open clerical pressure, but gradually Peter gave himself over to a more purely Provençal attitude, and this risk faded, only to be replaced by another.

In view of the high prestige of the Lance, as long as Peter Bartholemew continued to act predominantly as the spokesman

1. vid. inf., pp. 6-8.

2. vid. inf., pp. 49-50.

3. H. Hagenmeyer, Le Vrai et le Faux sur Pierre L'Hermite (trans. F. Raynaud), Paris, 1883, p. 294.

of the poor, it was very difficult for anyone to criticise him or the Lance itself. Even given scepticism, it was very difficult to attack what Peter was saying; everyone, at least nominally, wanted to go on to the Holy City, and who could dispute the idea of showing charity to the poor? In any case many, other than the poor, must have at least half believed. The author of the Gesta certainly appears to have accepted the Lance; the Apocalyptic overtones of 'Holy Poverty', the eschatological implications of their quest, the common burden of sin; to some extent these assumptions were shared by all classes on the Crusade. Alphandéry makes perhaps too rigid a distinction between the popular and the seigneurial outlook.¹ The siege of Arqa brought about a change in the climate of opinion.

The siege, lasting from the 14th February till the 13th May, did incalculable damage to the Count of Toulouse. The delay of the Count at Marra² may well have led to popular suspicion of him, but it was the siege of Arqa which destroyed his power. Although little hardship was experienced in the siege, the fighting was severe and unsuccessful;³ failure and consequent bitterness amongst the princes did the Count's

1. Alphandéry, op.cit., vol. I, Part II, ii, p. 97.

2. Dec. 1098-Jan 13th 1099. vid. inf., pp. 177-185.

3. Raymond tells us virtually nothing of the fighting itself; the Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxxiii, pp. 83-85 tells us little more.

prestige little but harm. Then, on the night of the 6th April 1099 Christ appeared in another vision to Peter Bartholemew, and the special peculiarities of this vision were in fact disastrous. Most remarkably, it contained no demand for a march on to Jerusalem. In the usual way justice for the poor was demanded ... Et quid melius iusticia? Christ is made to say.¹ The Crusaders are congratulated on having set up a tenth for the relief of the poor. The main burden of this vision of the crucified Christ² is a sustained allegory in which the people on the crusade are seen in five orders; of these Ordo (Primum) iste mihi similis est;³ these are of course the most fervent and best of the army. The others, however, are ranged in order of merit down to Hi (quintum ordo) Iudae proditore et Pilato iudice similes sunt.⁴ To distinguish these orders it was only necessary for the Count to set out the army for war, and the distinctions would be self-evident:

Congregat comes principes et populum disponsatque de bello vel de castri oppugnatione.⁵

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1. vid. inf., p. 226.
 2. vid. inf., p. 219 et seq.
 3. vid. inf., p. 222.
 4. vid. inf., p. 224.
 5. vid. inf., p. 225.

The crusader army at Arqa, rent as it was by dissension,¹ consisted of five main groups; those of the Count of Toulouse, the Duke of Normandy, Godfrey of Boxuillon, Robert of Flanders and Tancred with his Normans: in this situation such a vision was explosive. Presumably Peter's support for the Count of Toulouse was the product of polarization within the army, as a result of the savage disputes among the leaders. The blatant Provencal bias of the vision appears to have given Arnulf of Choques, quasi caput omnium incredulorum² the opportunity to come out and openly challenge the Lance, for by this strange vision Peter must have forfeited much of the wide popular support he had formerly enjoyed. Of the result of the trial of the Lance, at this distance the evidence is too confused to produce any clear verdict, hence, following the example of William of Tyre³ no opinion will be given here, but clearly it discredited even further the Holy Lance.

Raymond of Aguilers however did not abandon the Lance, and indeed another vision, this time by one Stephen Valentine, of Adhémar who instructed that his own cross, left at Laodicea, should be carried with the army: An non illa(crux) bene vos conduxit usque ad Lanceam Domini?⁴ This is indeed, for Raymond, confirmation of the Lance. The Count of Toulouse

1. vid. inf., especially p. 218.

2. vid. inf., p. 230 et n.a.

3. William of Tyre, op.cit., loc.cit., vid. inf., Appendix.III,

4. vid. inf., p. 268.

carried the Lance into battle at Ascalon,¹ suggesting that he continued to accept it. But it is notable that from this time the Holy Lance figures less largely in the narrative; instead with the death of Peter Bartholemew, a new visionary appears, one Peter Desiderius, who is introduced to us through a series of visions which he had at the time the army left Antioch.² Indubitably, the introduction of Peter Bartholemew at this point reflects Raymond's careful writing up after the capture of Jerusalem, but then Raymond is openly writing in a hagiographical tradition, and in any case it cannot be proved that the events described were bogus. Paul Alphandéry, always anxious to draw a firm distinction between popular and ecclesiastical devotion, has emphasized the distinctions between the visions of Peter Bartholemew, and those of the other priests. Thus for Alphandéry, the visions of Stephen Valentine are quasi liturgique,³ while of those of Peter Bartholemew he remarks:

Dans la vision de la Sainte Lance, liturgie, culte discipline n'ont aucune part.⁴

Such a distinction, however, must not be too firmly drawn. The Hills, as already quoted,⁵ have remarked upon the formal

1. vid. inf., p. 364.

2. vid. inf., p. 202 et seq.

3. Alphandéry, op.cit., Part II, Chap. II, p. 104.

4. ibid.

5. vid. sup. p. XXVII.

pattern of even the visions of Peter Bartholemew, while the instructions given for the celebration of the Invention of the holy Lance are highly technical. It is not necessary in this to see the scheming hand of Raymond of Aguilers. Peter Bartholemew appears to have been literate,¹ and, if not a priest he had presumably received something of a clerical training in order to be lettered at all.

There is little doubt that Raymond of Aguilers, in writing his account fell into hagiographical tradition, and used its forms, but in view of his attitude to the Crusade this was entirely natural. What we have in the Historia Francorum is the Crusade seen in its cosmological context. Seeing the Crusade as the work of God in which He directly intervened, Raymond's outlook is markedly Apocalyptic. This fused naturally with the less sophisticated Eschatological enthusiasm of the poor and reinforced Raymond's natural sympathy for them. Raymond of Aguilers is the chronicler of the poor, in a very real sense as will be indicated; but in the words of Alphandéry he is something more:

... Raimond d'Aguiles ... reste
notre source la plus utile pour connaître la vie des
pauvres dans la Croisade et pour pénétrer au-delà des
querelles des chefs.²

But this sympathy, this regard for the lot of the poor, it must

1. vid. inf., pp. 113-114.

2. Alphandéry, op.cit., Section II, Chap. 11, p. 93.

be emphasized, is not something separate from Raymond's cosmological outlook, but at least in part springs from and is a consequence of his Apocalyptic Vision.

Section IV: Raymond of Aguilers as a Historian

To make any useful judgement of Raymond of Aguilers as a historian, and to value the Historia Francorum as a source for the First Crusade it is necessary to take into account a wide range of factors. Above all, his eschatological framework must not be neglected; Raymond wrote firmly in the belief that the achievements of the Crusade were done per iussu et instinctu Dei.¹ It was, he states specifically at the opening of the work, the object of the enterprise to ... manifestare magnalia quae Deus nobiscum, solito pietatis suae more, fecit.² However, Raymond was also rather more specific about his writing; he thus defined what might be called his temporal scope in writing:

Sed quia alii per
Hungariam, alii per Longobardiam, alii per mare venerunt
... dimissis aliis, de comite et Episcopo Podiensi et
exercitu eorum scribere curavimus.³

Especially after he was made chaplain to the Count of Toulouse Raymond was in a very fine position to do this. It is as well to remember this rather narrowly defined scope of writing. Too often the Historia Francorum is looked at in

1. vid. inf., p. 279.

2. vid. inf., p. 5.

3. vid. inf., p. 6.

the same light as the Gesta Francorum. The Anonymous of the Gesta sought to tell the story of the Crusade; he does so from the point of view of the South Italian Normans. Raymond of Aguilers sought to recount, primarily, the story of the doings of the Provençal contingent; in the process, partly because he was not a very good historian, he came, very largely, to tell the story of the first Crusade, but such was not his original goal in writing by which he must, at least upon one level, be judged.

To a very large extent, in fact, the Historia Francorum is the story of the armies of the Count and the Bishop. The entire section of the work down to the beginning of the siege of Antioch is concerned only with the doings of the Provençals. Others are mentioned only in passing.¹ The passage concerning the people's Crusade, itself lifted from the Gesta Francorum,² was inserted only as a stick with which to beat the Emperor Alexius,³ to whom Raymond was unswervingly hostile. The battle at Dorylaeum, and the long and bitter march across Asia Minor, so graphically recorded by the Gesta,⁴ are entirely neglected by Raymond. Of the march after Dorylaeum he simply says:

1. vid. inf., pp. 4-29.

2. vid. inf., p. 23 et n.9. et Appendix II, n. CCXXXI - CCXXXII.

3. Ibid. inf.

4. Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill) Lib. III and IIII, pp. 18-27.

pacifice et
alacriter per Romaniam usque ad Antiochiam
venimus.¹

The Count was ill en route, as Raymond tells us with considerable embellishment,² hence the Southern French contingent did little on the march, and so practically nothing was recorded by the Chronicler. The siege of Antioch itself is narrated very much from a Southern French viewpoint, and the picture that emerges, although factually not incompatible with that of other sources, reflects very much this viewpoint. There is far more emphasis in the Historia Francorum on the bitter day-to-day fighting than in other sources; this largely reflects the fact that from an early stage in the siege the Provençals were virtually responsible for two gates, those of the Bridge and the Dog. While all other sources emphasize the miseries of the siege Raymond is most strongly of all concerned with the lot of the poor. It is against this background that the great expeditions are seen. Raymond praises lavishly the victory of the Count of Flanders and Bohemond over Duqaq of Damascus³ on 2nd January, 1098, but he does not forget that the main object of the expedition had been to get food, and to comment on their failure so to do;

1. vid. inf., p. 26.

2. vid. inf., pp. 26-28.

3. vid. inf., pp. 45-46.

Igitur regresso exercitu, victore et vacuo, tanta fames in castris fuit ut...¹

If Raymond's emphasis is upon the doings of the Provençals, he gives credit to others when it is due. Both Robert of Flanders and Bohemond are given credit for the capture of Acreh,² and the victory over Duqaq,³ although a certain prejudice against Bohemond is evident. If this retrospective dislike of Bohemond prevents Raymond from giving him full credit for the victory on the St. Simeon road of 6th March, 1098, not all the glory is reserved for Raymond's fellow countrymen; the Duke of Lorraine is praised; Claruit ibi multum aux Lotharinginae.⁴ in a story which is born out by Albert of Aix.⁵ Curiously enough with regard to the Lake Battle of 9th February 1098 Raymond mentions no personalities at all. This is possibly an indicative passage; from the Gesta⁶ it would seem at least likely that Count Raymond served under Bohemond, as, while it is clear that the Provençals mainly defended the camp,⁷ no

1. vid. inf., p. 46.

2. vid. inf., pp. 35-36.

3. vid. inf., p. 46.

4. vid. inf., p. 67.

5. Alberti Aquensis, Historia Hierosolimitana, in R.H.C.(Occ.), vol. IV, pp. 265-713; Lib. III, Cap. LXIII, pp. 383-4.

6. Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), Lib. VI, xvii, pp. 35-38.

7. vid. inf., pp. 58 et n.a.-59.

mention is made of the presence of their commander. Raymond has here simply suppressed an unpalatable truth, in the same way that he suppressed the details of the scattering of the Provençal force en route to Constantinople.¹ It is, in fact, of some importance to recognise that Raymond tends to suppress the unpleasant rather than tell direct lies. It is also worth remarking here upon the oft repeated criticism that Raymond could not describe battles. His accounts of Dorylaeum² and Ascalon³ are certainly defective, but those of the fighting around Antioch are accurate and fairly detailed. Raymond's is the best contemporary description of the city, and it is given:

... ut facilius bella et
assultus qui ibi facti sunt, ab his qui non viderunt,
intelligantur.⁴

Dr. R.C. Smail, in his book on crusading warfare, it may be noted, makes considerable use of Raymond as a source.⁵

Throughout the summer, autumn and winter of 1098 Raymond continued to be concerned mainly with the doings of the

1. vid. inf., p. 15.

2. vid. inf., pp. 24-26.

3. vid. inf., pp. 368-371.

4. vid. inf., p. 30.

5. R.C. Smail, Crusading Warfare, (Cambridge, 1956).

Provincals, mentioning only in passing the other armies. It is, however, perfectly true that the only force (apart from Baldwin at Edessa) playing a major fighting role at this time was that of the Count, and that Raymond probably found it difficult to find out about the doings of the others. The march down to Arqa was largely a Provencal affair, but Raymond does not neglect to mention the role played by the forces of Tancred and the Duke of Normandy.¹ Again at the siege of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon Raymond of Aguilers concentrates, not uncritically and not exclusively, but mainly, upon the doings of the army of Toulouse.

Because of Raymond's concern to tell the story of his own people considerable gaps are left in the work concerning the doings of the other armies and leaders. It is a symptom of Raymond's concentration on the Provencal role that we are given so much of our information about the doings of others, independent of the Provincals, from informative, but essentially casual asides. Thus Tancred's extensive activities in Cilicia² are only hinted at by Raymond in describing the departure of Taticius.³ Some indication of the activities of the other leaders during the summer of 1098 is given by Raymond,

1. vid. inf., p. 192.

2. For a full description, vide Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), Lib. IV, x, pp. 24-25.

3. vid. inf., pp. 51-52.

but only in lamenting the death of the Bishop of Le Puy, and, incidentally very shrewdly pointing to his importance:

Quantum utilis autem Dei exercitui et principibus (Episcopus) fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit; cum inter se divisi principes, Boamundus in Romaniam est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roais profectus est.¹

Rather more surprisingly, given his considerable hostility to deserters, Raymond makes no direct reference to the apostasy of Stephen of Blois, and his interview with Alexius at Philomelium, although it must have been common knowledge in the army by the autumn of 1098, for the Gesta knew of it.² Such knowledge is only implied in the words of the anti-imperial party at the conference of November 1:

Certe (Alexius) non veniet in auxilium nostrum qui fratres nostros ad auxilium Dei et nostrum venientes ut reverterentur coegit.³

Again we know of the activities of the English fleet on the Crusade,⁴ in the pages of Raymond of Aguilers, only because of

1. vid. inf., p. 137.

2. vide Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxvii, pp. 63-65.

3. vid. inf., p. 162.

4. For the best discussion of their activities and indeed the role of the fleets in general, vide C.W. David, Robert Curthose (Camb. Mass. 1920), Appendix E, Leodicea and the First Crusade, pp. 230-244.

a digression intended to illustrate the fervour of the army to go on to Jerusalem.¹ Examples of such casually given factual information can be multiplied. Sometimes, as in the case of the meeting at Philomelium, the matter can be elucidated from other sources,² but occasionally this is not so. The exact significance of Raymond's statement that Robert of Flanders and Bohemond were chosen to go on the foraging expedition of Christmas 1097 because, ... Normanniae comes eo tempore aberat, et dux maxime infirmabatur,³ or at least that part of it relating to the Duke of Normandy, has not yet been firmly established.⁴

The chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers has, however, rather more to offer than a good account of the doings of the Provençals, together with casual asides concerning the doings of other armies. Raymond's chronicle has in fact a crucial three-fold importance. In the first place, as has been indicated above,⁵ Raymond offers us an opportunity for contact with the attitudes and psychology of the poor; secondly, he is a witness without parallel to the quarrels and rivalries of the leaders; and thirdly, he was able to indicate the ways in which the two elements interacted upon one another. It is

1. vid. inf., pp. 294-295.

2. vide Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxvii, pp. 63 et seq.

3. vid. inf., p. 38.

4. For the best discussion of the whereabouts of Robert of Normandy, vide David, op.cit., Appendix E, p. 239.

5. vid. inf., p. 29.

because of this that Raymond's chronicle has more than a merely Provencal importance. His interest, and indeed we may suspect, involvement, in the intrigues of the leaders enabled him to give an irreplaceable account of the internal politics of the First Crusade. He owed much to his post as chaplain to the Count of Toulouse, which gave him a position from which such insight was possible.

On occasion Raymond reveals quarrels, often of great importance, which are not referred to in any other source, largely because few people outside the participants would know about them. Thus it is Raymond who tells us that when the army got to Antioch, ... non erat consilium multorum principum ut eam obsideremus,¹ but that these people suggested a blockade of the city from a distance, until the spring.² This tactic, advocated by persons at this stage unnamed, had its merits, but was successfully resisted by, amongst others, the Count of Toulouse, who urged an immediate close investment of the city.³ Some months later, probably in January 1098, Raymond tells us that Taticius:

... cotidie auribus principum
instillabat ut discederent ad castra finitima, atque
inde frequenti assultatione et insidiis Antiochitas

1. vid. inf. p. 29.

2. vid. inf., p. 29.

3. vid. inf., ibid.

propulsarent.¹

Clearly then, within the Crusader force there was a debate over strategy; more important were the protagonists, for in the quarrel Taticius the Imperial representative on the Crusade was opposed to the only really pro-Imperial leader on the Crusade. Further it appears to have been a matter upon which the Count felt very strongly. The virtue of Taticius's plan lay in overcoming the difficulty of foraging in the immediate vicinity of Antioch, and hence the need for strong armed parties to go into the hinterland. To counter Taticius's proposal the Count of St. Gilles went to the considerable length of offering a subsidy to any knight in his army who, in escorting the poor seeking food, lost his horse; by this means he hoped to overcome the not unnatural reluctance of the knights to risk their mounts on foraging expeditions. It is quite clear from the context that this was, and was intended to be a counter to Taticius's plan for a tactical withdrawal:

... Antiochitas propulsarent. Haec autem omnia ut comiti manifeste comperta sunt ... principes suos et Podiensem episcopum in unum vocat. atque habito consilio quingentas marchas argenti illis largitur. ea nimirum conditione. ut. si quis militum suorum equum deperderet, de illis quingentis marchis illi restauraretur. eo de

1. vid. inf., p. 49.

aliis quae fraternitati concessa sunt.¹

All this may shed some light on the circumstances and reasons for Taticius's departure from the army shortly afterwards in early February. The Gesta states that Taticius left out of cowardice, promising, as a pretext, to return with food and supplies.² According to Raymond of Aguilers there was at this time rumour of the approach of the Imperial army whose members, however, after the skirmishing in the Balkans, feared to approach the Crusader force, and Taticius used this as an excuse to go and join them.³ Anna Comnena,⁴ in her history of her father's reign, the Alexiad, has a different story to tell. According to her, at a time when there were rumours of the approach of a hostile army to relieve Antioch,⁵ Bohemond approached Taticius with the story that the other Crusader leaders believed that Alexius had persuaded the Sultan

1. vid. inf., p. 49.

2. Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. VI, xvi, pp. 34-35.

3. vid. inf., pp. 51-52.

4. The Princess Anna Comnena (b. 1083) was the daughter of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) whose life, the Alexiad, she wrote, modelling it upon the examples of Thucydides, Polybius and Xenophon. The work is characterized by a violently anti-latin prejudice and an ignorance of events beyond the Imperial frontiers (Encycl. Brit., 11th Edition, 1911, vol. II, p. 59). For a good, but perhaps unduly favourable assessment of the value of the Alexiad as a source, vide Runciman, op.cit., vol. I (The First Crusade) Appendix I (Principal Sources for the History of the First Crusade) Section I, p. 327.

5. In fact that of Ridwan of Aleppo, defeated at the Lake Battle on 9th February, 1098: vid. inf. pp. 53 - 57.

to send a Moslim army against them, and hence were plotting against him. Taticius, bearing in mind the desperate straits of the Crusader force, fled.¹ Given a split in the Imperial party over tactics, one can see how Bohemond could do this without risk of exposure by the Count of Toulouse. According to Raymond of Aguilers, Taticius left granting to Bohemond the cities of Tarsus, Mamistra and Adana,² an odd thing for him to do which might be explicable in terms of gratitude to Bohemond. Equally however, it is possible that as Bohemond was holding these cities de facto, Taticius was reasserting Imperial authority by claiming the only right to their disposal de iure. Finally, Taticius may simply have left in view of the desperate straits of the Crusader army.³ The whole affair is extremely obscure, but the fact of hostility between St. Gilles and Taticius and its cause is known to us only through Raymond of Aguilers.

Again we have no record, other than that of Raymond of Aguilers, of the suggestion, made at the conference held at Ramleh between 3rd and 6th June, 1099, that the army should bypass Jerusalem and attack Egypt.⁴ Unfortunately Raymond

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1. Anne Comnène, ALEXIADE, edited and trans. into French by B. Leib, (Paris, 1945) in three volumes: vide vol. III, Lib. XI, p. 20.
 2. vid. inf., p. 52. Anna does not mention this grant.
 3. Attested to by many sources including Anna herself; Tatikios, considérant que la femme était grande (la tête de boeuf en effet se vendait jusqu'à trois statères d'or) et désespérant de prendre Antioch...; Anna Comena, op.cit., loc.cit.
 4. vid. inf., p. 302.

preserves a discreet silence on the subject of personalities, but the suggestion itself is an interesting one. Further Raymond is our chief source for the negotiations at Arqa with the Imperial Legates,¹ the embassy from Egypt² and the Emir of Tripoli;³ in all cases Raymond displays a considerable knowledge of the general diplomatic situation, and without his information we would know very little of the substance of these negotiations.

All this, of course, gives to Raymond's chronicle a very considerable general importance, but it is in the knowledge of events surrounding what may be termed the crisis of the First Crusade, Summer 1098 - January 1099, that Raymond's greatest importance lies. The nature of the crisis, the quarrels of the Princes played out against a background of popular unrest, has been indicated,⁴ but now must be indicated the extent to which Raymond saw, and, albeit in his own terms, recorded it. The basic struggle was between the Count of Toulouse, who wished to return Antioch to the Emperor, and the Prince of Taranto who wished to keep it for himself. After the capture of Antioch tension between the factions ran high in the city. Raymond of Toulouse found himself ejected from the towers he held in

1. vid. inf., pp. 263-267.

2. vid. inf., pp. 208-212.

3. vid. inf., pp. 262-263.

4. vid. sup. pp. LIV - LV.

the citadel, so he fortified the Bridge gate.¹ Bohemond claimed the city, as it had been promised to him,² but some kind of an arrangement was reached, and Hugh of Vermandois³ was sent to the Emperor⁴ who, it was expected, was still on his way to Antioch. Runciman regards this as having been due to the influence of the Papal Legate;⁵ there is no direct evidence of this, but Adhémar, conversant with the Papal plan for the First Crusade,⁶ would hardly have wished to alienate the Emperor by handing over the city and it is safe to suppose that he would have thrown his considerable authority on the side of moderation.⁷ Adhémar however died on 1st August 1098, and this not only removed a moderating

1. vid. inf., p. 135.

2. Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. VIII, xx, pp. 44-45.

3. Hugh, called the Great (ob. 1101) Count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I of France, had had a bad beginning to the Crusade, although he had been the first of the princes to arrive; vid. Alexiade X, p. 213 et seq. He never came back from this mission, but returned to France; vide Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., Chap. X; The First Crusade; Antioch to Ascalon, S. Runciman, p. 324.

4. *ibid.*

5. *ibid.*

6. vide Duncalf, F. The Popes Plan for the First Crusade, in The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to D.C. Munro (New York, 1928).

7. Adhémar undoubtedly had authority; vide Brundage, Adhémar of Puy: the Bishop and his Critics, in Speculum, xxxiv, 1959, pp. 201-212, for a useful survey. A contrary and somewhat extreme view is expressed by J.H. and L. Hill in Contemporary Accounts and Later Reputation of Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, in Medievalia et Humanistica, IX (1955), pp. 30-38.

influence amongst the Princes; it also meant the loss of the one of the leaders most trusted by, and sympathetic to the poor, whose lot in plague ridden, strife-torn Antioch could hardly have been very pleasant. It was certainly no accident that the night following Adhémar's death Peter Bartholemew had a vision of Adhémar and St. Andrew, putting forward substantially the complaints of the poor,¹ and above all protesting about the putting off of the journey till November. The Princes may have had good motives in part for doing this; the army was tired and campaigning in the heat of summer was unwise, but there was little doubt that they were influenced by the need to settle the matter of Antioch. Peter's vision apparently had little effect for Raymond of Aguilers remarks bitterly: De hoc concilio quod acceperunt principes apud Sanctam Andream, nihil fuit,² and as a result ... res pauperum annullatae sunt.³

But the Count of Toulouse, once recovered from the illness which had struck him down during the siege of Antioch,⁴ had to do something with the mass of the poor, for he was far more open to their pressure than the other leaders.⁵ As

1. vid. inf., pp. 144-145.

2. vid. inf., p. 147.

3. ibid.

4. vid. inf., p. 121.

5. vid. sup. pp. XXXVIII - XL.

a result he joined Godfrey in an expedition against Asa which ended disastrously for the Provençals,¹ and then himself led his force out to attack Albara.² On the way Peter Bartholemew had another vision, and this appears to have led to a direct clash between himself and the Count of Toulouse. The central part of the vision consisted of instructions for the Count, through defying which he had sinned. The Count, sensing here a challenge to his authority denied this, but; Petrus et peccatum sibi narravit, et comes ita confessus est.³ what peccatum was is not known, but the visionary was being very bold, and went on, still narrating his vision, to demand flatly that the army should proceed directly to Jerusalem;

... mandat tibi Dominus ne diutius moram facias quia nisi prius Iherusalem capta fuerit succursum nullum habebis.⁴

There then followed, till early December, a long pause from Peter Bartholemew, which given the circumstance was quite understandable. Albara was captured quite easily by the Count;⁵ it appears to have been a rich town,⁶ and not unduly

1. vid. inf., pp. 148-149.

2. vid. inf., p. 149.

3. vid. inf., p. 154.

4. vid. inf., p. 155.

5. vid. inf., p. 156.

6. Raymond of Aguilers speaks of the Count returning to Antioch with much plunder; Igitur comes relicto exercitu suo, and (footnote continued on next page.)

exposed to hostile attack. The poor were left there till the return of the Count from Antioch, and, temporarily at least, they were being well looked after. In comfortable circumstances Peter's fervour fell on barren ground, but comfort on the Crusade was only ever temporary, especially for the poor. Equally important, the Count notably did not take Peter Bartolemew with him back to Antioch for the conference of November 1st. Otherwise he would undoubtedly have played a notable part in events there.

The Council of November 1st was nominally intended to plan for the continuation of the Crusade. In fact the real issue was possession of Antioch. A further matter not openly debated, but undoubtedly at issue was the matter of leadership. However, all three issues were closely bound up one with another. The story of Stephen of Blois's meeting at Philomelium and the desertion of the Emperor was evidently current at this time,¹ so doubtless the normal Latin hostility to the Greeks was greater than usual, and this weakened the pro-Imperial stand of the Count. Further, despite the Provencal occupation of the Bridge gate,² and his own absence in Romaniam,³

Barrao cum electo suo, et multis captivis et spoliis magnis, cum grandi exultatione Antiochiam reversus est: vid. inf., p. 159.

1. vid. inf., p. 162.
2. vid. inf., p. 135.
3. Cilicia? This is a very vague name; vid. inf. p. 137 et n.a.

Bohemond had tightened his hold upon the city of Antioch, even, on July 14th, granting a charter to the Genoese.¹ The attitude of the other leaders, according to Raymond of Aguilers was anything but friendly to the Count:

Etenim dux et comes Flandrensis leviter de civitate Antiochias habebant: propterea licet ut de Boamundo vellet quod haberet eam, tamen non audebant eam laudare metuentes incurrere periurii infamiam.²

But the Count of Toulouse was not totally without influence. His was probably still the biggest contingent on the Crusade, and to alienate him was clearly impossible, especially at a time when his personal prestige, as the leader of the only army in the field against the infidel, was very high. Further as Raymond of Aguilers says, for the other leaders to support Bohemond openly was to court the charge of perjury. The result was deadlock and bitter quarreling amongst the leaders. If the Crusade was to be kept together a compromise had to be found; in the event it was forced upon the leaders. According to Raymond of Aguilers the poor in the city, faced with the quarrelling of the leaders, became very discontented because Hoc ergo modo de itinere, et de aliis quas itineri et pauperibus usui forent, differebatur.³ They even, according

1. Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe (Innsbruck, 1901), XIV, p. 311.

2. vid. inf., p. 163.

3. vid. inf., p. 163.

to Raymond, began to consider going on to Jerusalem without the help of the leaders:

Quoniam principes, vel propter
timorem, vel propter iuramenta quae imperatori fecerunt,
nos in Iherusalem ducere nolunt, eligamus de militibus
nostro aliquem fortem, qui fideliter serviendo, et tuti
esse possimus. Et si gratia Dei est, eodem milite duce
in Iherusalem perveniamus.¹

This revival of the spirit of the people's Crusade must have been very embarrassing to the leaders, and, in any case, to some extent they too must have wished to go on to Jerusalem. The prestige of all would have suffered had the Crusade come to a sordid end in a squabble over Antioch. Accordingly a compromise was arranged; what Raymond of Aguilers, with perhaps conscious irony, termed a discordem pacem.² The terms of this Raymond does not discuss, but according to the Gesta the Count of Toulouse promised to accept the directives of his peers, on condition that Bohemond did the same.³ It was to be an uneasy peace.

There would seem little reason to doubt this account; it provides a very satisfactory background to the peace drawn up between the Count of Toulouse and Bohemond; it accords well

1. vid. inf., pp. 163, 164.

2. vid. inf., p. 163.

3. Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. X, xxxi, p. 76.

with the picture of popular attitudes described elsewhere by Raymond, and fits well with the pattern of future events. Raymond was perhaps too willing to accept the motives of others as his own; the leaders had other reasons for coming to a compromise. However, popular agitation appears to have had some influence. The Gesta gives it no recognition, but the author of the Gesta was himself a knight, with all the prejudices of his class. Further, although most of our accounts tend to gloss over the subject, not all deny the power, on occasion of popular pressure. Albert of Aix, for example, accepted it as the decisive reason for the final decision of Godfrey of Lorraine and Robert of Flanders to leave Antioch on February 10th, 1099.¹ Indeed events at Antioch to some extent set the pattern for the course of the next few months, with popular pressure prevailing at times of crisis when the leadership was more than usually divided.

The departure of the Count of Toulouse and Robert of Flanders from Antioch on November 23rd was not the signal for the beginning of the march on Jerusalem as must have been expected. Instead the army besieged Marra,² a city two days march from Albara, which had already defied Crusader attack.³

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1. Albert of Aix, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Occ.), vol. IV; Lib. V, Cap. XXVIII, pp. 449-450.
 2. vid. inf., p. 165.
 3. For a full description of this attack, vide Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxx, pp. 73-74. Raymond mentions it only in passing while describing the siege of Marra; vid. inf., p. 165.

Before the siege of Antioch Raymond of Toulouse had seized Rugia,¹ and the capture of Albara had strengthened his hold on this area to the south-east of Antioch. Whatever the object of this policy Bohemond could not view with equanimity the establishment of a powerful Provencal base on his southern frontier, and perhaps it was for this reason that he joined the siege on 28th November. The siege was chiefly remarkable for the strength of the defence,² and the bitterness of the suffering of the attackers. The misery of the Crusaders is graphically described by Raymond of Aguilers:

Post haec tanta
fames in exercitui fuit. ut. quod dictu miserabile est.
plusquam decem millia virorum per sata. more pecudum.
ire videres fodiendo. et investigando si forte aliqua
grana frumenti. vel hordei. aut fabae. sive aliquis
leguminis grana reperirent. Interea ... quidam de
nostris. videndo miseriam populi nostri et audaciam
Sarracenorum. desperantes de Dei misericordia. aufugiebant.³

In such conditions it is not surprising that Peter Bartholemew produced yet another vision, on the night of December 1st. In this vision, horrified at the immorality of the army, Saints Peter and Andrew urged that all men should take wives;⁴ morality,

1. This is not mentioned by Raymond of Aguilers; vide Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill) Lib. IV, xi, pp. 26-27.

2. vid. inf., pp. 166-167.

3. vid. inf., pp. 166-167.

4. vid. inf., p. 171.

of course, was a preoccupation of the religious, and the idea that suffering was the punishment sent by God for sin was a familiar one. Further, the Saints urged that the army should go on to Jerusalem, and that a tenth should be collected for the poor, and a system of justice instituted. However, as earnest of the divine support the city of Marra was promised to the Crusaders.¹ Once again the demands of the poor were finding their dangerously uncontrollable outlet. Raymond claims that this enlivened the army and led to the successful storming of the city. This must be taken with a pinch of salt; Marra did not fall until the 11th December. The actual fall of the city was however, attended by rather odd circumstances. The wall was scaled as night fell, so the knights retired from the breach and surrounded the city, presumably intending to prevent any breakout.² The poor fought on, and captured the city by night:

At vero hi quibus sua vita non multum cara fuerat, quos longa ieiunia in sui despectum deduxerant, per noctis tenebras inferre bella.³

A night assault was an incredibly dangerous undertaking, and undoubtedly their success enormously strengthened the bargaining power of the poor. The knights got little plunder as a result

1. vid. inf., p. 172.

2. vid. inf., p. 174.

3. vid. inf., pp. 174-175.

of this, although Bohemond, who appears to have made a treaty with the Turks,¹ managed to gain a disproportionate share of the booty and control of a section of the town.²

The aftermath of the capture of Marra was the breakdown of the *discordem pacem* between Bohemond and the Count of St. Gilles. The causes were many, but basically the dispute over Antioch was still dominating the Crusade. Initially however trouble seems to have broken out at a lower level. The Provençal knights were jealous of the booty gained by the Normans, who had, after all, arrived late at the siege. The Normans had caused bad blood by mocking the Holy Lance.³ All this was bad enough, but neither side was restrained by their leaders who were confronting one another for another round in the dispute over Antioch. The Count demanded the towers in Marra held by the Normans, for he wished to grant the city to Peter of Narbonne, Bishop of Albara. Bohemond, little wishing to see the Count consolidate his hold upon this section of his borders refused,

Nisi comes dimiserit
mihi turres Antiochiae. non ei consentiam in aliquo.⁴

Thus the dispute and ill-feeling over Marra merged into the

1. Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), Lib. I, xxxiii, p. 79.

2. *vid. inf.*, p. 176.

3. *ibid.*

4. *vid. inf.*, p. 177.

bitter struggle for control of Antioch. It is to Raymond alone that we owe the knowledge of this development. Further it is to his account that we owe our knowledge of the intrusion of a powerful degree of popular pressure. The poor, angry at the outbreak of further Seignorial bickering, and still it must be remembered, suffering considerable privation, for Marra had yielded little comfort, began to press urgently for the resumption of the journey on to Jerusalem. Significantly Raymond of Aguilers remarks:

Inter ea itinere milites
et populus quaerere ceperunt, quando placeret
principibus ut inciperetur.¹

The presence of knights added considerable weight to the protest. Bohemond dismayed the poor by putting the resumption of the journey off till Easter of 1099.² The people, then, led by Episcopus Albariensis et quidem nobiles,³ a significant combination, approached the Count of Toulouse. The terms of their petition centred about the Holy Lance, for the people and their leaders appear to have remembered that He had delivered the Lance to the Count only; ... siquidem perseveraverit in amore eius,⁴ interpreted this to mean only so long as the

1. vid. inf., p. 177.

2. ibid.

3. ibid.

4. vid. inf., pp. 110-111.

Count obeyed the will of God that the army should march on to Jerusalem. Raymond of Aguilers puts their case thus:

... ut ipse cui Dominus Lanceam suam contulerat, ductor ac dominus eiusdem exercitus fieret; addentes quod ob hoc lanceam dominicam promeruisset ut, si alii principes defecissent, ipse obnoxius tanto beneficio Domini securus cum populo pergere non formidaret. Alioquin traderet lanceam populo, et iret populus in Iherusalem, ipso domino duce.¹

This in fact echoed the threat of the people at Antioch to appoint their own leader,² and the threat of a renewal of the people's Crusade was a threat no leader could afford to ignore. The petition in fact trapped the Count, and in his predicament we see the essence of the crisis which had overtaken the Crusade. It is a considerable tribute to Raymond of Aguilers that he saw the essential import of the Count's predicament, when put under popular pressure:

Dubitabat autem comes, propter aliorum principum absentiam metuens quod si ipse solus diem itineris terminaret, ob invidiam sui ceteri non essent.³

The Count saw, as did Raymond of Aguilers, that whoever put himself at the head of the popular movement, which after all was the driving force of the whole Crusade, was in fact proclai-

1. vid. inf., p. 178.

2. vid. inf., p. 164.

3. vid. inf., p. 178.

ming himself leader of the Crusade, and that any such unilateral action could only alienate the other leaders.

Further Raymond of Toulouse must also have wished to discharge his responsibilities to the Emperor, by clinging to Antioch, and this conflicted, at least in spirit with the demands of the poor. However, unable to resist the popular pressure, and also probably attracted by the prize put within his grasp, Raymond accepted the role offered to him, and at the same time, knowing that his forces alone were inadequate, he took the next logical step by making a bid for the leadership of the Crusade as a whole; this is the true significance of the Council of Rugia. Bohemond, disgusted at the turn of events, left Marra, apparently with the Count of Flanders, who is not subsequently mentioned as being at Marra.¹

Raymond of St. Gilles had two objects in calling the Council of Rugia, which met on 4th January, 1099. The first was to set a date for the resumption of the Crusade; the second and crucial one was to seek recognition of his own leadership. He had many assets. His army, if depleted, was still the biggest on the Crusade; his prestige as a soldier was at its height among friend and foe alike; he had the sympathy of the poor, some of the clergy and many of the lesser nobility, and above all he was appealing to the basic urge of all the Crusaders, to go on to Jerusalem. Finally the Count was rich, and it was this asset that he decided to employ.

1. vid. inf., p. 178.

As against all this however, the Count faced certain difficulties. There was of course the implacable hostility of Bohemond who could hardly have wished to see his old rival at the head of the Crusade, but Bohemond perhaps had decided to stay at Antioch. Rather more important was the fact that the Crusade had never had a leader. When asked by Christ who was the leader of the army Stephen Valentine replied:

Domine non fuit ibi unus solus Dominus unquam,
sed magis episcopo credunt.¹

The Crusade, in fact, appears to have been run by a committee,² and none of the leaders seems to have had any liking for obeying the authority of any of the others. Only in times of crisis, as when Bohemond was appointed leader during the second siege of Antioch³ had any one of them been elevated above the others. Adhémar's eminence owed much to the fact that he was the Papal Legate, and his very real influence sprang from his strength and tact, but he was very far from being supreme. Brundage's general conclusion that Adhémar wielded considerable, but indirect influence on the Council of leaders must be accepted.⁴

1. vid. inf., p. 104.

2. This is certainly the view of the Hills in their article Contemporary Accounts and Later Reputation of Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, in Medievalia et Humanistica, IX (1955) pp. 30-38, but they deeply underestimate the personal influence of Adhémar; vid. sup. p. LX - t. n. 7.

3. vid. inf., p. 116.

4. Brundage, op.cit., loc.cit., p. 212.

Raymond of St. Gilles was not in Adhémar's position. He was only a layman, with his own particular interests above and beyond the general interest of the Crusade, which might assert themselves at any moment. Further he was committed to a highly unpopular pro-Byzantine policy, which the other leaders resented, and he was, in a real sense, an odd man out. The mass support of the crusade came from north France; Lorraine, Champagne, Flanders and Normandy: the Normans of Italy had close relations with their fellows in the North. St. Gilles was a Provençal, even if he had married a niece of Robert Guiscard.¹ Above all, however, was the determination of all the Princes not to give any one of them an undue eminence.

Faced with a rather difficult situation at Rugia, Raymond offered money to the other leaders. To Robert of Normandy and the Duke he offered ten thousand solidi, six thousand and five thousand to Robert of Flanders and Tancred; no offer seems to have been made to Bohemond.² Neither Raymond nor any other chronicler gives any details of the negotiations surrounding this offer. We do, however, know something of the conditions upon which it was made, for when Tancred decided to leave the service of the Count at Arqa, Raymond of

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1. In 1080 Raymond took as his second wife, Mathilda, daughter of Roger, Count of Sicily, and niece of Guiscard. He travelled to Sicily for the marriage. Hills, Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles (Toulouse, 1959), Chap. I, p. 14. Mathilda, however, appears to have died before the Crusade, and Raymond brought with him his third wife, Elvira, daughter of Alphonse VI, of Leon and Castille. *ibid.*, p. 20.
 2. The account of Raymond, *vid. inf.*, pp. 179-180 makes no mention at all of Bohemond.

Aguilers remarks:

Tancredus, qui cum accepisset a comite Raymundo quinque millia solidorum et duos equos farios optimos, eo pacto ut in servitio eius esset usque in Iherusalem.¹

It is to be doubted whether anything quite so explicit was suggested to the other Princes. Tancred was a Norman, and the Normans had a long tradition of service for money.² Further, although a good soldier, in the social terms of the age, compared with the other leaders, he had very little status. Robert of Normandy, the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Lorraine were far too important to be tied to such conditions, and presumably the offer made to them was in far looser terms. Whatever, according to Raymond, the meeting broke up with no agreement reached. The Count, having gained nothing, returned to Marra to find that the people, thinking Marra was the subject of the meeting, had resorted to direct action and were tearing down the walls of the city, demanding that the army should proceed to Jerusalem.³ They were starving; even according to Raymond of Aguilers, resorting to cannibalism:

1. vid. inf., p. 218.

2. The Normans had first gone to Southern Italy as paid mercenaries; vide F. Chalandon, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et Sicile (Paris, 1907, New York, 1960), vol. I, Chap. II, pp. 48 et seq. At the time of the First Crusade Bohemond's half-brother Guy, appears to have been in the service of the Emperor Alexius; Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxvii, pp. 63-64.

3. vid. inf., pp. 180-181.

Interea tanta fames in exercitu fuit, ut multa corpora Sarracenorum iam foetentium quae in paludibus civitatis eiusdem per duas hebdomadas et amplius.¹

Raymond was caught between this pressure and his need for the support of the Princes, and every fresh upsurge of such popular indignation highlighted his dilemma. Something clearly had to be done, and he decided to lead a razzia into Sarracen territory.² This revealed his basic military weakness, for the poor, who were to be left in Marra, complained that there were not enough knights in the army to prosecute the raid and protect the city; ... in exercitu vix sunt trecenti milites and aliorum armatoris non est grandis numerus.³ The raid was highly successful; and on 13th January 1099 Raymond of Toulouse symbolically burned Marra, and, bare-foot as a penitent, led his army south on the road to Jerusalem.⁴ It was a magnificent gesture, much in accord with the temper of his army. Further, his offer at Rugia had had effect; Tancred followed him,⁵ and he made junction with the forces of Robert

1. vid. inf., p. 181.

2. vid. inf., p. 183.

3. ibid.

4. vid. inf., p. 185.

5. ibid.

of Normandy at Kepharda.¹ The crisis of the crusade had, at least on a temporary basis been settled, and Raymond of St. Gilles was virtually the leader of the crusading army.

The march south had begun, and it is noticeable that compared with his treatment of the march through Asia Minor, Raymond spends quite a lot of time upon it. He had good reason; this for him was the 'golden age' of the Crusade. The reasons for this are not difficult to see; the army was on its way to the Holy Sepulchre and the standard bearer, Raymond of St. Gilles, was obedient to the will of God; above all the poor were well looked after:

Convalescebant cotidie pauperes; confortabantur cotidie milites et sic cotidie exercitus multiplicari videbatur.²

Raymond's description of the actual march is not as detailed as that of the Gesta,³ but one point ignored by all other sources he tells us of, and this has a certain bearing upon the pattern of future events. En route it was suggested that the army turn to the coast, and attack Gibella.⁴ The Count was prepared to consider this, but was dissuaded from it by Tancred.⁵ Nevertheless it was an indicative event. That

1. Raymond does not mention this, only later (p. 192) informing us of his presence. vide Gesta (ed. Hill) X, xxxiiii, p.81.

2. vid. inf., p. 188.

3. Gesta (ed. Hill) X, xxxiiii, pp. 80 et seq.

4. vid. inf., p. 189.

5. vid. inf., pp. 189-191.

Raymond had put himself at the head of the popular movement did not mean that he had relinquished his own ambitions.¹ Further, another factor asserted itself in the course of the march; quite simply even reinforced by Tancred and the Duke of Normandy, the army led by St. Gilles lacked men, and especially Knights. According to Raymond of Aguilers he had even had to ask the Bishop of Albara for troops:

Etenim comes. quia paucis milites
secum habebat cum a Barra proficisceretur. rogavit
episcopum ut. posito praesidio Barrae. ipse veniret
secum. Quod episcopus audiens quendam militem suum
nomine Willelmu[m] Petri de Cimiliaco. ibi dimisit...²

It is against this background that we must see the siege of Arqa.

1. The Hills, basing their argument upon their assumption that at Rugia a plan was drawn up whereby the Count proceeded south, to make junction with the other armies at Arqa (Hills, op.cit., Chap. V, pp. 94 et seq.) deny that this suggestion of a diversion to Gibella ever occurred, as it would have meant abandoning a preconceived plan. They point out the geographical difficulty of reaching Gibella, and suggest that Raymond of Aguilers invented the whole thing to presage the coming arguments at Arqa (ibid., Chap. VI, pp. 98 and 99). In the first place their suggestion of a plan to junction on Arqa is supported by no evidence at all, and contradicted by both Raymond of Aguilers (vid. sup.) and the Gesta (ed. Hill) X, xxxiiii, pp. 80-81 to name only two. The geographical argument seems rather weak, though true. But why should Raymond presage events at Arqa? Further it seems very odd that Raymond of Aguilers should have invented a story with the apparent express purpose of praising Tancred, of all people. Finally, as has been indicated, faced with the unpleasant, Raymond tends to suppress rather than tell a direct lie (vid. sup. ²¹ et n.l.). It would seem that the Hills discount the story, more than anything else, because it conflicts with their first premise of agreement at Rugia.

2. vid. inf., p. 192.

The Count's investment of Arqa is very difficult to account for, unless the Hills suggestion that it was a pre-conceived plan of all the leaders is accepted. However, it seems unlikely, and we know that when eventually the other leaders did arrive at Arqa they had to be persuaded to join in the siege: Albert of Aix tells us that the Duke of Lorraine and the Count of Flanders refused to join the siege but

Deinde equum magni pretii formosique corporis misit comes Duci, ut sic prefectius animum illius placeret ac secum hic revocaret donis ad assultum Archados, sciens eum virum magnae patientiae et amoris, quo placato et reconciliato, ceteris in benivalentiam posse redire ac concordiam.¹

If, however, we accept Raymond of Aguilers evidence that the Count was short of men, and recognise that his acceptance of the leadership of the popular movement did not automatically destroy his own ambition, some vestige of explanation may be possible. Given a shortage of knights, the Count, who was an old and cautious soldier, could hardly have cheerfully contemplated the prospect of losing touch with the rest of the army and going off to take Jerusalem by himself. Further, he may have guessed shrewdly that the prestige of the other leaders would not permit them to stay at Antioch forever. Further, the Count had been doing very well since the autumn of 1098, and Arqa could not have seemed any more formidable

1. Albert of Aix, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. V, Lib. V, Cap. xxxv, pp. 454-455.

than Marra; to pick off another Saracen city would enhance his prestige, and could lead to profit, and it is likely that the Count, like many other men, may have considered his private profit to be the public good. It was a mistaken assumption. The Count of Flanders and the Duke, however, did not stay long at Antioch before popular pressure forced their departure,¹ and with Bohemond they proceeded to Laodicea, where the latter deserted them;² they then proceeded to besiege Gibella.³ The Count and the Duke were in a quandary; they were under considerable popular pressure to proceed to Jerusalem, but were unwilling to do so because this would mean joining the Count of Toulouse, and, by implication, accepting his authority. On the other hand St. Gilles needed the support of their forces before he could satisfy the popular urge to attack Jerusalem, (temporarily in abeyance) but wished to vindicate his authority over the whole Crusade. Temporarily there was deadlock. It was broken by an event which appears to have been wholly gratuitous; a rumour spread in the camp at Arqa of the approach of a hostile army. Raymond of Toulouse promptly sent to Gibella for help.⁴ Albert of Aix's assertion that the Count himself, bribed by the lord of Gibella, invented

1. vid. sup. p. ~~LXXXIX~~^{LXVI} et n.l.

2. Albert of Aix, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Occ.), vol. IV, Lib. V, Cap. xxv, p. 453.

3. ibid.

4. vid. inf., p. 213.

the rumour,¹ seems unlikely; what is important, however, is that the deadlock was broken. An appeal for help was an appeal to Crusader solidarity, and the Duke and Count Robert could answer it without compromising their independence. Once they had arrived, the realization that the rumour was in fact mistaken dawned; further, it strongly suited the attitude of both leaders to accept Tancred's assertion that the whole thing was an invention of the Count of Toulouse,² whatever the truth of the matter. Provençal diplomacy however persuaded the lords to join in the siege.³

Raymond of Aguilers was never exactly well informed about the doings of the other leaders, but it is largely through his work that we can discern the gradual upset of the delicate balance established between the leaders and popular enthusiasm by the agreement of the other princes to join the siege of Arqa. Events began to move decisively against the Count of Toulouse. In early April 1099 an Imperial embassy arrived in the Crusader camp urging the army to delay proceeding to the Holy Sepulchre till the Feast of St. John, when they would be joined by Alexius.⁴ Raymond of Toulouse urged this, in pursuit of his pro-Byzantine policy, and also because

1. Albert of Aix, *op.cit.*, in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. IV, Lib. V, Cap. xxxv, pp. 454-5.

2. *ibid.*

3. *vid. sup.* p. LXXIX & L.I.

4. *vid. inf.*, pp. 263-264.

it provided good reason for the army to stay at Arqa. The other leaders, hostile and suspicious of the Byzantines, refused to comply.¹ Raymond of Toulouse's attitude could hardly have made him popular; of the attitude of the other Princes Raymond of Aguilers remarks: Laudavit populus maxime hanc sentenciam.² The trial of the Lance,³ at the very least led to scepticism of the relic, at the most discredited it completely, and as the Count's prestige had become entwined with that of the lance, we may be sure that he gained very little from it and probably suffered a considerable loss in prestige. Most decisively, the siege of Arqa went badly. There appears to have been little actual hardship, because the surrounding countryside was rich and eager, for the sake of protection, to supply the army,⁴ which was also supplied by sea.⁵ But a futile siege of a minor town was bound to lead to discontent. The barrenness of the siege was accentuated by dissension among the leaders, which, coming to the ears of the Emir of Tripoli, led him to reject out of hand a Crusader demand for tribute.⁶ None of this was calculated to enhance the position of the Count of Toulouse.

1. vid. inf., pp. 265-266.

2. vid. inf., p. 266.

3. vid. inf., pp. 244-254.

4. vid. inf., p. 217.

5. vid. inf., p. 203.

6. vid. inf., pp. 258-259.

The declining prestige of the Count must be seen against the rising demand for the army to go on to Jerusalem. Despite the procrastination of the Count, the army demanded to renew the march to Jerusalem, and the Duke, so Raymond tells us ... maxime volebat hoc iter, et plebem ad hoc commonefaciebat.¹ The Count in fact was now caught between the popular enthusiasm, and his own needs and ambitions. He had put himself at the head of the popular movement, but the condition of this was in fact obedience to the ultimate popular demand; to march on to the Holy Sepulchre. From this strong position, at a time when popular agitation was dormant, he had gained the co-operation of the other leaders in the siege of Arqa, but it was no more than co-operation. With the decline in his prestige and the revulsion of popular feeling against him, his position was extremely vulnerable, but his prestige was tied to the siege of Arqa. At the conference discussing the Imperial offer he had urged acceptance of the Imperial terms on the grounds that to abandon the siege of Arqa would diminish crusader prestige:

... si dimittamus eam (obsidionem) ut inexplicabilem, multum contemnetur noster exercitus, qui nihil incepit acentus quod inexpletum dimiserit.²

Since then the Emir of Tripoli, fearing further raids, had agreed

1. vid. inf., p. 282.

2. vid. inf., p. 265.

to pay tribute to the army in late April,¹ and Crusader prestige amongst the Arabs was somewhat restored. What was really at stake was St. Gilles' position and prestige within the army, and that was in a very bad state, even among his own forces. According to Raymond of Aguilers, when the brother of Adhémar, William-Hugo de Monteil,² returned from Laodicea with the Cross of the Bishop which he had been commanded to fetch in accordance with a vision of Stephen Valentine:³

Hanc autem crucem cum vidissent etiam comitis familiares, in tantam itineris commotionem devenerunt, ut praeter comitis et aliorum principum consilium, incensis tabernaculis suis, et primum comitis familiares, obsidionem Archados dimitterent.⁴

There may be a little exaggeration here but this story is borne out by Albert of Aix⁵ and in view of the unusual unanimity of the evidence, clearly discontent with the leadership of the Count, or perhaps more specifically the siege of Arqa, had reached dangerously high proportions.

The army pressed on to Jerusalem, but the Count of Toulouse

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1. Raymond's apparent chronology in regard to the Imperial embassy is very misleading; vid. inf., p. XCI.
 2. vid. inf., p. 272 n.a.
 3. vid. inf., p. 272.
 4. vid. inf., p. 281.
 5. Albert of Aix, op.cit., R.H.C.(Occ.), vol. IV, Lib. V, xxxvii, p. 456.

was no longer in charge; he still probably had the biggest army, and his prestige amongst the Arabs must still have been high, for Raymond of Aguilers tells us that it was with him that the ruler of Acre¹ treated. Effectively, however, the Crusade had become a loose alliance of the various princes (less Bohemond) for a common end, held together very much by the basic driving fervour predominant amongst the people. The disaffection which had led to the abandonment of the siege of Arqa continued to plague Raymond of Toulouse,² but he co-operated loyally and well with the other leaders in the siege of Jerusalem.

Raymond of Aguilers' account of the siege of Jerusalem is largely told from a Provencal point of view, but even considered as a general description it is reasonably clear and concise, supporting and clarifying the accounts of the Gesta and others. Raymond's chief value, however, in this part of the work, is his account of the disputes which broke out after the fall of the city of Jerusalem. Alone of all the surviving chroniclers, Raymond tells us that before the capture of the city, at a council which also considered several other matters, the question of the government of the city was raised. The clergy, says Raymond, argued that a Patriarch should first be elected, supporting their contention, and incidentally revealing

1. vid. inf., p. 297.

2. vid. inf. p. LXXXVIII, et n.l.

a high degree of support for the Reform movement,¹ with the quotation cum venerit Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit unctio;² a very dangerous argument indeed. However, once the city had fallen, the princes proceeded to elect a leader, ignoring the protests of the clergy, who, as Raymond points out, in any case lacked a leader since the death of Adhémar, and that of the Bishop of Orange³ who had attempted to fill his place:

Post illum (Ademarum) autem cum Willelmus Aurasicensis, vir bonae memoriae et episcopus, pro viribus nobis prodesse vellet, brevi in tempore apud Marram in pace quievit.⁴

The role of the Bishop of Orange is known to us only from the work of Raymond of Aguilers, although the Gesta mentions his death at Marra.⁵ The leaders however proceeded to elect a ruler for Jerusalem, first, according to Raymond of Aguilers, offering the crown to the Count of Toulouse. This is not so surprising an offer as it might at first seem. The Count held

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1. '... if the Crusade failed, the prestige of the Urbanists would collapse with it. The Thoughtful and earnest among the clergy, therefore, had a double responsibility, a duty to both the army and the church.' W. Porges, op.cit., p. 9.
 2. Daniel IX, 24-27 et vid. inf., p. 323.
 3. vid. inf., p. 352.
 4. ibid.
 5. Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), Lib. X, xxxii, p. 80.

a large army, and he had captured the Tower of David,¹ stronghold of the city, while his prestige among the Muslims may still have been high and even his pro-Greek policy may have stood him in good stead, as it raised the possibility of Greek aid for the new kingdom. Other chroniclers do not mention this offer, but there seems little reason to doubt Raymond's veracity in view of his general knowledge of the doings of the leaders, and the fact that in the latter sections of his work especially he is none too well disposed to the Count. But the Count refused the election;

At ille nomen regium se perhorrescere fatebatur in illa civitate; sed praebere se aliis consensum, si id acceperent.²

The refusal seems even odder than the offer. Possibly the Count wished to fulfill ambitions elsewhere to the north, but the suggestion of Sir S. Runciman that the offer was perhaps not made unanimously enough, and that the terms of the refusal were such as to discourage any other from acceptance seems more likely.³ The leaders, however, proceeded to the election of Godfrey of Lorraine as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴ That the action of the count was not at all

1. vid. inf., p. 346.

2. vid. inf., p. 353.

3. Runciman, op.cit., vol. I (The First Crusade), Book V, Chap. III, p. 292.

4. vid. inf., p. 353.

disinterested is indicated by his behaviour subsequent to the election, in refusing to cede to the newly elected Godfrey the Tower of David, key to the city. The subsequent quarrel was a bitter one, and, in the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers, it casts a strong light on the isolated position in which the Count found himself. According to Raymond, the Count resisted the demand of the Advocate, on the grounds that he wished to stay in Jerusalem till Easter of 1100, and needed an honorable residence, but:

Ideo multiplicabantur
lites. Flandrensis et Normanniae comites favebant duci,
et omnes etiam pene de terra comitis Raymundi, credentes
reddita turre, consequenter eum esse reversurum. Non
solum autem Provinciales in hoc domino comiti suo
adversabantur, verum multa de eo turpia composuerunt
ne in regem eligeretur. Vacuus itaque comes sociorum
et amicorum auxilio...¹

The pressure of the other leaders, however, obliged Raymond to deliver the Tower to the Bishop of Albara, who, however, pleading in defence coercion,² handed it over to the Duke.³ The humiliation of the Count was such that he left the city for the Jordan, there obeying the precepts of Peter Bartholemew, although, as Raymond of Aguilers himself says, no-one knew what

1. vid. inf., pp. 354-355.

2. vid. inf., p. 355.

3. ibid.

they signified.¹ The Count must have felt very bitter about the whole matter, for he left Jerusalem just as the clergy of the army were proceeding to the election of a Patriarch;² perhaps he felt that his influence was so diminished that no creature of his could possibly hope for success, and that in such circumstances any participation of his could only be undignified. The election of Arnulf of Choques³ as Patriarch appears to have been stage-managed by the Bishop of ^{Martirano} ~~Martirano~~, to the fury of Raymond of Aguilers and the boni clerici.⁴ Raymond, of course, hated Arnulf for his part in the trial of the Lance,⁵ but perhaps also his rage reflects frustrated ambition. In clerical rank Arnulf was certainly no higher than he,⁶ and Raymond, after all, served a leader whose part in the crusade had been infinitely more distinguished than that of the Count of Normandy. It is to be noted that Raymond of Aguilers' account is almost entirely accepted by William of Tyre;⁷ another cleric whose hopes of election to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem were doomed to be disappointed.⁸

1. vid. inf., pp. 356-357.

2. vid. inf., p. 358.

3. vid. inf., p. 230 n.a.

4. Presumably the Provençals; vid. inf., p. 358.

5. vid. inf., pp. 230-231 and 243-244.

6. Raymond states that Arnulf ... non erat subdiaconus, but this probably is exaggeration: vid. inf., p. 358.

7. vid. Appendix, III, .CCXXXV.

8. Runciman, op.cit., vol. II (The Kingdom of Jerusalem), Book V, Chap. I, pp. 424-425.

The remainder of Raymond's narrative was very brief indeed. It is chiefly remarkable perhaps for the good description of the tactics of the crusader army as it marched to fight the Egyptians at Ascalon,¹ although the description of the battle itself is very brief and poor.² The work ends with a story about the Count of Toulouse sending a Turk, called Bohemond, into Ascalon, with a brief biography of the said Turk.³ This is clearly incomplete,⁴ and presumably the remainder of the story would have cast light on the quarrel of Godfrey and the Count, narrated by Albert of Aix.⁵

The chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers is, in fact, chiefly concerned with the doings of the forces of the Count and the Bishop ~~Buxa~~, but Raymond did not adhere consistently to this first openly avowed intent. His feelings and emotions were too powerfully engaged to permit him thus to restrict himself. This produced considerable unevenness in his narrative, and this is also attributable to his weaknesses as a historian. Raymond liked to point morals,⁶ and he could not resist edifying

1. vid. inf., p. 365.

2. vid. inf., pp. 368-371.

3. vid. inf., p. 372.

4. vid. inf. p. CXXXVI.

5. Albert of Aix, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Ooc.) vol. IV, Lib. VI, Cap. li-lii, pp. 497-498.

6. e.g. vid. inf., p. 34 et v.l.

examples.¹ Raymond was in a position to know much that was going on during the First Crusade, but he was however, no historian. He had no traditional historical discipline within which to confine himself, and hence, perhaps fortunately for us, he strayed from his initial purposes in writing. The Monastic annals in the late eleventh century had not reached a very high state of development; the traditional chronological method was challenged by the Crusade, which telescoped events so incredibly, compared with the ordinary course of life at home. Raymond of Aguilers, who in any case was a secular and appears to have no training at all, faced with the complex of events, tackled them with no other method in mind than that of simplifying matters by telling only the story of the Provençal contribution, and he failed to do this. Far more confusingly, and in this respect the Gesta is far better, is Raymond's chronology, which is disastrous. A very clear example of this concerns the arrival of the Egyptian Embassy at Arqa.² Raymond implies, by the position in his narrative, that they arrived in early February 1099. Hagenmeyer dates their arrival as late April 1099, and his evidence appears to be fairly conclusive.³ Hagenmeyer is in fact very chari-

1. e.g. The death of the Bishop of Martorano as the wages of sin: vid. inf., pp. 358-359.

2. vid. inf., pp. 208-212.

3. H. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la première Croisade, (Paris, 1902), no. 370, p. 225.

table, suggesting that Raymond, faced with an enormous complex of events, adopted schematic dating in order to impose some kind of order.¹ If so it is a very curious schema, and I am inclined, as there seems to be no evidence that such a misplacing served any didactic or propaganda purpose, to believe that Raymond simply had very little sense of chronology, and that perhaps his journey notes at this point were not very complete. Oddly enough one set of events are very well dated; all the visions of Peter Bartholemew. To give some idea of how odd this is, between 1st November 1098 and Good Friday 1099 Raymond dates precisely only one event; the vision of Peter Bartholemew of 5th April 1099.²

Raymond's extension of the objects of his work has already been remarked upon as the cause of some confusion, but a far more serious charge is that Raymond failed to fulfill his original objects in writing, and in fact he does leave considerable gaps in his narrative concerning the doings of both the Count and the Bishop of Le Puy. There are several instances of this. Thus in a passage taken from the Gesta Francorum³ Raymond describes the quarrel between Alexius and the Count, but he does not go on to describe the subsequent accord which grew up between the two men. In the same period Raymond is

1. Ibid.

2. vid. inf., p. 220.

3. vid. inf., pp. 16-18 et v.6.

completely silent about the doings of the Bishop in Constantinople, and while it is true that all our sources are silent on this point,¹ such silence is more than merely surprising in one who, after all, was one of the Canons of Adhémar's cathedral. The silence concerning the Count is probably explicable in the light of Raymond's known anti-Byzantine feelings² which did not permit him to reveal the friendly terms which came to prevail between Alexius and the Count, and it is possible that the silence concerning Adhémar can be explained in these terms, though this must remain conjecture. Again, in common with all the sources, in the period from the Lake Battle to the capture of Antioch Raymond is silent about the whereabouts of the Bishop of Le Puy. Albert of Aix says that Adhémar preached at the beginning of the Lake Battle,³ but his account is not notably dependable at this point, and Raymond merely notes, perhaps significantly that before the battle the princes met in domo Episcopi.⁴ Thereafter the long silence is completely maintained. In a vision which occurred at Easter 1098 Peter Bartholemew is made to remark that he could not bring together the Count, Peter

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1. vide Brundage, op.cit., p. 204 for the paucity of the evidence about the doings of the Bishop at this time.
 2. vid. ^{inf.} ~~sup.~~ especially 1.15 & pp. 20 - 23.
 3. Albert of Aix, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. IV, Lib. III, Cap. lx, pp. 380-381.
 4. vid. inf., p. 54.

Raymond of Alto-Pullo and the Bishop.¹ This is a very serious and very long gap. It is one thing for Raymond to keep us in ignorance of the doings of Robert of Normandy; such a silence is perfectly comprehensible in the light of Raymond's declared object in writing; it is quite another to maintain such a prolonged period of silence concerning the doings of the Bishop. A possible explanation may be found in Raymond's anti-Byzantine prejudice, and his habit of suppressing unpalatable truths. A possible hint of the activities of the Bishop is given at a later date when, at Arqa, William-Hugo, brother of the Bishop of Le Puy,² was sent to Laodicea, ubi crux dimissa fuerat cum capella ipsius episcopi (Ademari);³ how did the chapel of the Bishop get there is the question. It is at least possible that in the period March-June 1098 the Bishop had business with the Byzantines⁴ or perhaps with the Patriarch of Jerusalem with whom he had been in contact earlier,⁵ and who was resident in Cyprus.⁶

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1. Cumque vobis haec pariter dicere vellem, coadunare vos non potui: vid. inf., pp. 98-99. It will be recalled that it was to these people specifically that Peter was instructed to reveal his vision: vid. inf., p. 92.
 2. vid. inf., p. 272 n.a.
 3. vid. inf., p. 273.
 4. It seems likely that even if Robert of Normandy was at this time holding the port of Laodicea, he was doing so in conjunction with the Byzantines: vide C.W. David, op.cit., Appendix E, p. 240.
 5. In October 1097 and again in January 1098: vide the two letters from the Patriarch in Kreuzzugsbriefe (ed. Hagenmeyer), (footnote continued on next page)

This can, however, only be speculation, and Raymond's silence at this point marks a considerable omission in his work. Again Raymond is silent about the doings of the Count of Toulouse from the fall of Albara (25th Sept. 1098) till the conference of 1st November, as are all our sources. This seems a very long period for the Count to have remained totally inactive.

Such omissions as these detract seriously from the value of the Historia Francorum as a source for the History of the First Crusade, and they are, especially in the light of his declared purpose in writing, inexcusable, and inexplicable except occasionally in terms of prejudice. In general, however, despite his omissions and occasional chronological confusion Raymond's narrative fits well with that of other sources for the First Crusade. His account often extends and illuminates the narrative of other sources, and this tends to reflect his extensive knowledge of the internal politics of the Crusade. In one important sequence of events, however, described by Raymond, he contradicts all our other sources, and presents a very strange picture of events, and as these concern Bohemond and the city of Antioch it is a matter of considerable importance.

VI, p. 141 and IX, p. 146.

6. And he had been since 1095; vide Runciman, op.cit., Vol. I (The First Crusade), Book I, Chap. V, p. 78.

After the foraging expedition of Christmas 1097, Raymond tells us that Bohemond threatened to leave the army, urging poverty as his reason.¹ There is little reason to disbelieve this even though no other source mentions it; Raymond's knowledge of political events tends to be good, and it is even possible that Bohemond was feeling the strain on his resources. Raymond's own comment that this was part of the long term plan to get Antioch reflects hindsight, and need not be accepted.² Even the Hills, ever ready to accuse Raymond of invention, accept that this probably happened.³ This incident then would seem to be perfectly acceptable. Of the other witnesses the author of the Gesta being himself a Norman had good reason to stay silent, and the later prestige of the Prince of Antioch may well have obscured the event to other writers. However, Raymond tells us that in February 1098, when the army was hearing rumours of the approach of a hostile relief force, the Princes held a council and promised Bohemond the city of Antioch, the Count excepted, and swore an oath to maintain the siege, if necessary for seven years.⁴ We must see this in the light of the fact

1. vid. inf., pp. 46-47.

2. vid. inf., p. 47.

3. Hills, op.cit., Chap. IV, p. 60.

4. vid. inf., pp. 50-51.

that Raymond of Aguilers makes no reference to the Council of the leaders which eventually, according to the Gesta, promised Bohemond the city if he could take it.¹ Had Raymond simply suppressed this latter story, it would have been quite in accord with his general policy, but to suggest that Bohemond was promised the city at a much earlier date makes little sense in terms of Raymond's own attitudes. It is just possible that there is a confusion of memory here; both in February and June 1098 the army was faced with a hostile relief force before the city had fallen, but even given Raymond's poor sense of chronology this seems unlikely. In any case there is the matter of the oath sworn by all the princes not to abandon the siege, which is mentioned by no other writer in connection with the promise of the city to Bohemond. Further, the February conference must be seen against the threat of Bohemond to leave the army, in view of this oath especially. While the suppression of the account of the gift of the city to Bohemond in June 1098 considerably detracts from Raymond's acceptability in dealing with the controversial subject of the disposal of the city of Antioch, this totally different sequence of events cannot be altogether dismissed. On balance it must be concluded that at this time in February 1098 some kind of conference took place, and that Antioch was discussed, in the light of the possible desertion

1. Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), VIII, Cap. XX, pp. 44 et seq.

of Bohemond. However this may be, it is certainly a curious sequence of events.

CONCLUSION

The Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers has many notable weaknesses and omissions as a source for the First Crusade, but its considerable importance, especially when used in conjunction with other sources, must be admitted. In itself, in view of Raymond's self-imposed limitations and his own shortcomings, Raymond's chronicle provides an extremely uneven narrative of events. What the Historia Francorum does provide, used in conjunction especially with the Gesta Francorum which has a rather better factual narrative and a vastly superior chronological framework, is an extended knowledge of events of great importance, a great deal of information about the doings of the Provencal host, and above all, the only really well informed account of the internal political relations of the various factions amongst the Crusader leaders. Far more important however, than all of this is the recognition that Raymond shared many of the presuppositions of the lesser crusaders, and that through this, and his strong consequential interest in their doings we can, through the Historia Francorum, gain a considerable and valuable insight into their general influence on the Crusade, and their basic attitudes towards events. It is only in the Historia Francorum that we can see the interaction of this basic driving enthusiasm shared by all,

and the conflicting more explicitly political interests of the leaders. The true importance of the affair of the Holy Lance lies in its reflection of the popular eschatology which provided the driving enthusiasm of the poor (and to some extent all classes) for the Crusade. As has been indicated many factors combined to produce Raymond of Aguilers' special vision of the crusade, but it was a vision shared to a greater or lesser degree by all the men of his day, and most especially those who went on Crusade. In Raymond of Aguilers the eschatological standpoint reached a peculiar and special intensity which places the Crusade overtly in its cosmological framework. It is worth concluding this brief introduction by quoting the passage of the Historia Francorum in which Raymond describes the fall of Jerusalem; for its language and its manner are perhaps the most overt illustration of the Apocalyptic vision:

Sed tantum sufficiat,

quod in templo et in porticu Salomonis equitabatur in sanguine usque ad genus, et usque ad frenos equorum.¹ Iusto nimirum iudicio, ut locus idem eorum sanguinem exciperet, quorum blasphemias in Deum tam longo tempore pertulerat. Repleta itaque cadaveribus et sanguine civitate, confugerunt aliquanti ad turrem David, et poposcerunt a comite Raimundo securitas dexteram, et dederunt ei arcem.

Capta autem urbe operae pretium erat videre devotionem peregrinorum ante Sepulcrum Domini, quomodo

1. Rev. XIV, 20.

plaudabant, exsultantes et cantantes canticum novum Domino.¹ Etenim mens eorum Deo victori et triumphanti vota laudum offerebat, quae explicare verbis non poterat.

Nova dies, novum gaudium, nova et perpetua laetitia, laboris atque devotionis consummatio, nova verba, nova cantica ab universis exigebat. Haec inquam...²

1. Rev., V, 9.

2. vid. inf. pp. 346 - 348.

Chapter II

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

S e c t i o n I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND FORMER EDITIONS

is the signature of one Gaspar de Spral.

This manuscript was not used by the editors of the Recueil in preparing their edition of the Historia Francorum.

The provenance of the manuscript is quite clear. It was copied at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris.¹ The opening of Fulcher's work is surmounted by the words IESUS : MARIA : S.VICTOR : S.AUGUSTINUS. Further, at the foot of folio 5 are inscribed the words iste liber est sancti Victoris Parisiensis, quicumque eum furatus fuerit vel celaverit vel titulum iustum deleverit, anathema sit. Amen. From this latter it would seem that the manuscript, although nominally presented to Louis VII, actually continued to rest at St. Victor where it appears to have remained till the French revolution. St. Victor was, by the mid-twelfth century, a famous centre of copying and scholarship: Hugh of St. Victor was only one of its most famous products. This manuscript is certainly one of its finest extant works, written in a fine early Gothic hand on bleached white parchment.

The manuscript was used by the editors of the Recueil as their "A", the basis of their text.²

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1. This was a great Augustinian Foundation which had close ties with the Capetian house: J. Taylor (ed.), The Dissemination of Hugh of St. Victor (New York, 1961), Introduction.
 2. R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, Codicum Manuscriptorum, p. 234, and Préface, p. xxvi.

this manuscript with Clermont 262, although we may forgive Peiresc for not mentioning "De Antiochena Bella" in view of the frequency of this mistake in modern catalogues. Bongars mentions a manuscript of Fulcher of Chartres, given to him by J. Rousset, but originating from Ecclesiae Claramontensis in his Historiarum Studiosus - VII to his edition of Fulcher of Chartres.¹ He mentions no other chronicle as being associated with it, and it is extremely unlikely to be the one Peiresc saw, as Bongars died almost immediately after the GESTA DEI per FRANCOS was published, with this manuscript in his possession. In view of the known habits of sixteenth century collectors it seems unlikely that the manuscript found its way back to Clermont. Our "G" cannot be certainly identified with the manuscript noted by Peiresc, but it would appear likely, at least. The manuscript bears no library marks at all, from which it would appear that it passed straight from the hands of the church, into the French public collection at the time of the revolution, and this makes its identification with the Peiresc manuscript more likely.

This manuscript, then numbered Claramontensis H199, was used by the editors of the Recueil as their "G".

1. Bongars, op.cit., vol. I, pp. 318-440.

2. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, Codicum Manuscriptorum, p. 234 and Préface, p. xxvi.

- (9) "J" - The Bongars edition: in J. Bongars,¹ 'Gesta Dei per Francos', (Hanover 1611), vol. I, pp. 139-183.

This edition was based by Bongars on two manuscripts from the libraries of Guilelmus Anclius and J. Russatus:

Sed hanc² habemus ex ms. uno Vulcobiano Guilelmi Ancelii; altero nostro, quem nobis dono dedit Lingonensibus³ nuper iuridicundo praefectus Reip. studiosissimus Joannes Russatus.⁴

The text printed by Bongars is radically different to that known to us from other manuscripts, but it is quite clearly the work of Raymond of Aguilers. An alternative ending was, however, printed by Bongars.⁵ This passage is quite clearly taken from the anonymous Gesta Francorum,⁶ and was apparently included in the manuscript of Guillaume Ancel, referring to which Bongars remarks:

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1. Jaques Bongars (1554-1612) was one of the most distinguished of the French scholars of the sixteenth century. The son of a family of Calvinist lawyers from Orléans, he was trained as a lawyer at Marburg and Jena. Bongars was always a scholar, but in 1586 he entered the service of Henry of Navarre, and till his death he was involved in diplomacy with the Protestant powers, seeking their support for the Huguenots: Grand Larousse, v.6, p. 951.
 2. i.e. hanc editionem.
 3. Possibly Langres (Belgium); lat. Lingonaea.
 4. Bongars, op.cit., Historiarum Grand Larousse, vol. 16, p.771. Studiosus IV.
 5. Bongars, op.cit., pp. 182.15-183.
 6. vid. inf. Appendix I, pp. CCXV et seq. for a detailed comparison of this passage with the ending of the Gesta Francorum.

Libri extrema, sunt ab alio auctore: quod dictio
indicat et testatur Vulcobianus.¹

The main bulk of the Bongars text, comprising pages 139-182, was taken from the manuscript of Ancel, which will be referred to in the Apparatus Criticus as "J". The text of the manuscript given to Bongars by Rousset will be referred to as "J₂". Following the precedent of the Recueil edition, as the manuscripts upon which it was based have become lost, the Bongars edition will be treated as a manuscript.

From detailed collation it is clear that "D" (Bib.nat. lat.5511A) closely resembles "J",² which constitutes the main bulk of the Bongars text. The Vulcobianus manuscript, Bongars tells us,³ had an ending derived from another work, and indeed there appears to have been an explicit statement to this effect in it. There is an exactly parallel statement in "D"⁴ which also contains this ending. Bongars prints this ending⁵ and also one more normal to the Historia Francorum.⁶ Collation of this latter ending with the endings of other manuscripts having what is in fact the authentic ending of the Historia

1. Bongars, op.cit., Historiarum Studiosus IV.

2. vid. inf., App. Crit. & Section II of this Chapter, pp. CIIVC et seq.

3. vid. sup.

4. vid. inf., App. Crito., p. 357, v.3.

5. Bongars, op.cit., pp. 182.16-183.

6. Bongars, op.cit., pp. 180.11-182.16.

reveals very few variants indeed.¹ Further, it is probable that the manuscript Bongars took this ending from, the gift of Rousset, must closely have resembled such manuscripts as Bib.nat.lat.14378² (my F), for in the catalogue of the Bibliotheca Bongarsiana³ the only record of a copy of the Historia Francorum records that it was contained in a volume with certain other works, vid.:

Precoria quaedam; fol. 1.

Versus monachilis rimati; fol. 1^v.

Fulcherii gesta Francorum Hierusalem cum armis
peregrinatum; Gauterii Antiochena bella; Raimundi
de Agiles Historia.⁴

Further, it is stated in the entry that on folio 91, at the end of the work of Fulcher is found the heading:

Explicit liber primus⁵ a Fulcherio illustri viro
compositus. Incipiunt Antiochena bella: extitit
hic victor Gaulterus indicat auctor Antiochenorum
Dominus Rotgerius et dux.⁶

1. vid. inf., App.Crit., pp. 358-372.

2. vid. sup. General Description of Manuscripts, pp.

3. (ed. H. Hagen), Catalogus Codicum Bernensium. (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana), (Berne, 1875).

4. ibid., Ms. 261, p. 297.

5. i.e. in this volume.

6. H. Hagen, op.cit., loc.cit.

This is the heading found between the works of Fulcher and Walter the Chancellor in manuscripts A, C, F, G, H which all contain the same collection of chronicles.¹

The editors of the Recueil used the Bongars edition as their "E".²

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1. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, Nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8. Also the edition of Walter the Chancellor in R.H.C.(Oss.) vol. V, p. 75 - 132.
 2. R.H.C.(Oss.) vol. III, Codicum Manuscriptorum etc. p. 234, and Preface, p. xxvi.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

To close this section it would be of use to make a record of the manuscripts of Raymond of Aguilers work to which scholars have, at various times, referred.

Bongars in his brief introduction refers to a manuscript of the work to be found in London:

Ab eo (Pontio) scriptam huius belli historiam quae Londini exstet, legimus in Bibliotheca Gesneriana:¹ quae et Raimundi de Podio laudat auctorem scriptionis eiusdem argumenti; utraque nisi fallor, eodem cum hoc nostri.²

The references to the two authors in Gesner's work are not linked in any way, but clearly Gesner himself must have known that they were. Bongars' error in supposing two manuscripts is, however, quite understandable in the light of the actual entries of the Bibliotheca:

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1. Conrad von Gesner, Bibliotheca (Tiguri, 1573). Gesner (1516-1565) was one of the most distinguished scholars of the sixteenth century. From 1541 till his death he was a lecturer in physics at the University of Zurich, and Natural History was always his strongest interest; his great zoological work, the Historia Animalium (4 vols., folio, Zurich 1551-58) is the starting point of modern zoology (Encycl. Brit. (1946) vol. 10, p. 316). but his literary interests were very wide. In 1575 was published the Bibliotheca Universalis (Zurich), a rather ambitious form of the Bibliotheca referred to. He died of plague at Zurich in 1565 (Encycl. Brit., (1946), vol. 10, p. 316).
 2. Bongars, op.cit., Historiarum Studiosus IV.

Pontius de Baladuno; Gallus, scripsit ad Episcopum Vivaricensensem, de Hierosolimitanae captionis. lib.I. Londini Bibliotheca.¹

Raymundus de Podio; comitis Podiensis capellanus, scripsit de obsidione Hierosolymae per Francos lib.I. Londini Bibliotheca.²

Guizot, in the introduction to his translation of Raymond of Aguilers, which is a bowdlerization of Bongars' Historiarum Studiosus IV, simply makes the remark that at London there is a manuscript bearing only the name of Pontius de Baladun.³

Finally, Bréhier, in the introduction to his edition of L'Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade, (Paris, 1924)⁴ refers to B.M. Harleian 4340 as a manuscript of Raymond of Aguilers. Klein also refers to it.⁵ This manuscript is, in fact, wrongly catalogued; Harleian 4340 is a manuscript of the work of Robert the Monk.⁶

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1. C. Gesner, Bibliotheca, (Zurich, 1573), p. 585.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 598.
 3. Guizot, Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France, (Paris, 1824), vol. XXI, Introduction, p. xxiv.
 4. Introduction, p. XXXI, 1.
 5. C. Klein, Raimund von Aguilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuge (Berlin, 1892), Chap. II, p. 29, following Perts; Archiv VII, (1839).
 6. Edited as Historia Iherosolimitana Roberti Monachi in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, pp. 718-882.

EARLIER EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS

The first edition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers was published by Jaques Bongars in volume I of his collection of sources for the history of the Crusades, entitled Gesta Dei per Francos, printed at Hanover in 1611, pages 139-183, with a brief introduction (Historiarum Studiosus IV) and description of manuscripts.

The manuscript chosen by Bongars as the basis of his text bore witness to one recension of Raymond's work.¹ As time went on other manuscripts came to light bearing witness to another and very different textual tradition, and many of these manuscripts were demonstrably older than any extant manuscript supporting the text of the Bongars edition. For over 250 years the edition of Bongars remained the only published text of the Chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers. In the nineteenth century the edition of Bongars was reprinted by J.P. Migne in Patriologia Latina, volume 155 (Paris 1890) cols. 594-667.

In 1844 the French Academie Impériale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres began to produce the monumental series Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. In volume III of the section Historiens Occidentaux, pp. 235-309 (Paris, 1866), they included a new edition of the Historia Francorum, with an introduction

1. For a more detailed discussion of this edition, vid. sup. pp. CXXII -CXXV, General Description of the Manuscripts, et infra. pp. CIIVC et seq.

and description of manuscripts, pages xvii-xxvi. The new edition was certainly more satisfactory than that of Bongars. Seven manuscripts were collated in its preparation, and a full Apparatus Criticus was included.¹ Note was taken of the manuscript tradition of which Bongars, whose edition had now to be treated as a manuscript, had been ignorant. The procedure adopted by the editors, in accordance with the general practise of the day, was to select the best manuscript, in this case Bib.nat.lat. 14378, and to print it, emended from other manuscripts, with a full Apparatus Criticus.

In printing the text of Bib.nat.lat. 14378 the editors of the Requell performed a great service to scholarship. The text is supported by many other manuscripts of verifiable antiquity,² and its publication was long since overdue. In emending the text of B.N.14378 from other manuscripts, amongst them the Bongars edition, whose text presents a radically different recension, the editors simply avoided the major textual problems presented by the textual history of the work, and demonstrated the weaknesses of the critical methods of the day.

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1. It is odd, however, to note that this Apparatus Criticus nowhere mentions the Requell's "G" (Clermont 262), nor their "D" (B.N.5132). The fact that "D" (present B; vid. sup., pp.CV-CVI) is a fragment is nowhere mentioned.
 2. vid. inf., Section II, Textual Analysis, pp. CLXII - CLXIII.

An examination of the Apparatus Criticus of the Recueil edition reveals many textual problems. Broadly speaking the essence of the problem is the considerable divergences to be noted between the text of the Bongars edition, and that of the Recueil.¹ The problems thus raised can only be solved, if they are soluble at all, by the application of modern critical methods to demonstrate the relationship (again if demonstrable) of all the manuscripts to one another, and thus to proceed to the establishment of an accurate text. The editors of the Recueil committed what to-day must be regarded as the cardinal sin of Idolising one manuscript as the sole source of grace.²

In the light of modern scholarship, then, the editors of the Recueil suffered from certain defects of method. In addition other manuscripts exist, which were not used by the editors of the Recueil and certain of these shed considerable light upon the problems posed by the manuscript history of this chronicle.³ It is not then surprising that Sir Steven Runciman has remarked on the need for a modern critical edition.⁴

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1. vid. inf., Section II, Textual Analysis, pp. CXLIV et seq.
 2. Wilamowitz, Aristophanes (Lys, 1927), p. 62, quoted by P. Mass in Textual Criticism (Oxford, 1958), pp. 52, 2.
 3. Especially, for example, B.M.Add. 8927; vid. sup., General Description of the manuscripts, p. CII et infra pp. CLXXIX et seq.
 4. Runciman, History of the Crusades, vol. I (The First Crusade), Appendix I, p. 329, 1.

The Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers has been translated twice; once into French and once into English. The French translation was the work of Guizot, in his collection Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, vol. XXI, pp. 227,397 (Paris, 1824). This is, in fact, a translation of the Bongars edition. The English translation, taken from the Recueil text, is to be found incorporated amongst translations of many other Crusader sources in A.C. Krey's valuable work, The First Crusade (Princeton, 1924).

Another edition of the Historia Francorum was projected by the Benedictines of St. Maur, as part of a great collection of the histories of the Crusades. It was intended to base the text upon that of Bongars, and variants were noted from manuscripts 5311, 5132, 5131A and 5131 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This text exists, prepared for publication, in the Collection Dom Bertheraeu (No. 2503) of the Supplement Français de la Bibliothèque Nationale.¹ The entire project was, however, abandoned.

There exists only one full-length study of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers, although many historians have used his work and discussed it,² that of C. Klein,

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1. Comte Riant, Inventaire des matériaux rassemblés par les Bénédictins au XVIII^e siècle pour la publication des Histoires des Croisades. in Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol. II (1884), pp. 105-204.
 2. Notably, and with great sympathy by P. Alphandéry in volume I of La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade, (Paris, 1954).

Raimund von Aguilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges.¹ Klein's views will be discussed where appropriate, in the introductory chapters of this edition.

1. Of which C. Cahen has remarked ... l'ouvrage de Klein est inutilisable. Cahen, op.cit., Chap. I, p. 7, note 2.

Chapter II

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

S e c t i o n 11

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE HISTORIA
FRANCORUM

The Historia Francorum

The work of Raymond of Aguilers, as it now exists, is very clearly incomplete. The ending, in fact, in all complete manuscripts, breaks off, if not in mid-sentence, at least in mid-paragraph. After telling us that the Count of Toulouse sent into Ascalon a Turk called Boamund, the work concludes:

Erat autem hic
Boamundus genere Turcus. pluribus edoctus linguis,
ingeniosus multum et callidus. nobis fidelissimus.
Sed quia Boamundus magnus suscepit eum de fonte
baptismatis: (nam venerat ad nos cum uxore sua et armis)
Boamundus vocabatur.¹

Clearly Raymond's intention must have been to tell us the nature of Bohemond's mission, for it is quite clear from the context that something further was intended.

Certain extant manuscripts do not end at this point. One manuscript of the Bongars edition² omits the last sentence, while manuscript "H" has its last folios missing;³ manuscripts

1. vid. inf., p. 372.

2. J. Bongars, op.cit., pp. 181 et infra p. 371, v. 9: this text is ms. "J2".

3. vid. inf., p. 366, v.5.

"D", "J" and "B" have alternate endings,¹ while "E" ends at a very much earlier point owing to the exigencies of interpolating it into Book I of the Historia Hierosolimitana of Fulcher of Chartres.² However, in all complete manuscripts with authentic endings this is the point at which the Historia ends: it may well be that this is the reason why the last sections of the work have occasionally been replaced by those of another work.³

Because in all recensions the work is definitely incomplete, it must be assumed that the common exemplar of all the manuscripts, i.e. the Archetype Π ⁴ (if not the autograph χ)⁵ was itself incomplete. The archetype Π could only have been incomplete for two reasons; either because χ itself was incomplete, i.e. the writer never completed his work; or because Π (or χ) was damaged at some point and lost its last folios.

It seems most likely, in fact, that either the autograph or the archetype suffered damage, for there is reasonable evidence to indicate that Raymond of Aguilers did in fact complete his work, and this evidence may now be examined.

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1. vid. sup., pp. CX - CXI ; CXXII - CXXV ; CV - CVII.
 2. vid. inf., p. 371, v.1.
 3. e.g. in "D" and "J" with the endings of the Gesta; vid. inf. Appendix, I pp. CCXV
 4. Greek letters refer to exemplars now lost; vid. inf. Stemma, pp. CCV.
 5. *ibid.*

Raymond of Aguilers wrote his work shortly after the end of the First Crusade. This is perhaps most simply illustrated by his reference to Ebrardus sacerdos, ille cuius mentionem superius fecimus, qui Iherosolymis pro Deo postea remansit.¹ Again, in discussing the Egyptian embassy to the crusader camp at Arqa,² Raymond refers to events which happened after the battle of Ascalon.³ The Emir of Egypt, says Raymond, had information concerning the strength of the Christian army from:

... litteras imperatoris Alexii de nobis factas invenimus, confecto bello cum rege Babyloniorum apud Ascalonem, in tentoriis eiusdem regis.⁴

It is impossible to say when exactly Raymond's work was written, but it seems likely that it was very shortly after the end of the crusade, for when he refers to the Count of Toulouse's failure to become ruler of Jerusalem⁵ and his loss of the tower of David,⁶ Raymond clearly believes, with the rest of the people, that the Count really intended to return to Languedoc ... credentes, reddita terra, consequenter eum (Comitem) esse

1. vid. inf., p. 249.

2. Which arrived in early May, 1099.

3. On the 12th August, 1099.

4. vid. inf., p. 210.

5. vid. inf., p. 353.

6. vid. inf., p. 353.

reversurus.¹ Raymond never even hints at the acts of the Count after the fall of Jerusalem and the battle of Ascalon, though it seems likely that he must have known something of his Lord's intentions. The earliest writer to use Raymond's work, Fulcher of Chartres, casts no light on the problem, as he used only small sections of the work, but his use does tell us that Raymond's work was circulating in Jerusalem by between 1101 and 1105.²

Raymond's work was finished very soon after the end of the Crusade, as is indicated by the above quotations, and the use of Fulcher of Chartres, but from internal evidence it seems at least likely that Raymond finished his work. The Historia Francorum, as we have it, is in fact a very tightly written and frequently cross referenced work. It has been noted³ that Raymond refers to the priest Ebrard as one who later stayed at Jerusalem, but in the same quotation he refers to him as one who has already been mentioned: ... ille quius mentionem superius fecimus.⁴ Again, in April 1099 Raymond refers to a vision granted to one Petrus Desiderius, ... de quo superius mentionem habuimus.⁵ At the end of the narration of the vision Raymond remarks:

1. vid. inf., p. 354.

2. vid. Appendix II, ~~Section (1)~~, pp. CCXLIV.

3. vid. sup., pp. CXXXVIII.

4. vid. inf., pp. 249.

5. vid. inf., p. 282.

Non solum autem haec sacerdos iste nobis dixit
verum etiam multa alia. de quibus quaedam huic
operi apponimus.¹

This in fact is preparing us for the introduction of Peter Desederius as the chief visionary of the army, after the death of Peter Bartholemew. Peter's next revelations concern a vision granted to him, shortly after the departure of the army from Antioch, concerning the relics of certain Saints.² Clearly the narration of this series of visions is nicely timed, to reassure the reader that God had not deserted the army, and that He still sent His prophets unto His people.

Raymond, in fact, as has already been indicated³ had a definite outlook, a special framework of eschatological reference, into which he fitted the events of the Crusade, and it seems likely that this also finds expression in the structure of the work. Most of the cross-referencing in the work occurs after the departure of the army from Marra.⁴ The period of the siege of Arqa was critical for Raymond, and when he came to write about it he seems to have taken considerable trouble to write very closely indeed. It is very

1. vid. inf., p. 284.

2. vid. inf., pp. 285-294.

3. vid. sup., Introduction, Section III, pp. IX et seq.

4. Nov. - Dec. 1098. An exception is to be found in certain Mss. A, C, E, F, G, H, which narrate Peter Bartholemew's last words at a point in the narrative long before they actually were spoken; vid. inf., p. 147, v.l.

notable also that most of his cross-referencing refers to the visions and to men like Ebrardus and Peter Desiderius who were involved in them. But if Raymond was writing after the events he describes, he must have had some basis other than simple memory. The earlier section of the work contains an extremely good description of the city of Antioch,¹ given:

... ut

facilius bella et assultus qui ibi facti sunt, ab his qui non viderunt intellegantur.²

The careful dating (exceptional for Raymond) and detailed narration of the visions of Peter Bartholemew suggest the same conclusion. Raymond may well have taken care to take down such matters of special interest to him. In at least one case the narration of a vision seems to be almost exactly contemporary with the revelation of the vision; this is the account of the vision of Peter Bartholemew which led to the trial of the lance.³ This is, in all manuscripts, very formally dated;

Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri. millesimo nonagesimo nono. indictione septima. epacta vicesima sexta. con-

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1. vid. inf., pp. 30-32.
 2. vid. inf., p. 30.
 3. vid. inf., pp. 219-229.

currente quinto. nonis Aprilis. in nocte. cum ego
 Petrus Bartholomeus¹ iacerem in capella Comitum
 Sancti Aegidii. ad obsidionem Archadon. cogitare...²

This extraordinary formality makes the passage read like a legal document; in addition it is throughout narrated in the first person, till its end when Raymond makes it clear that he and others had a hand in its announcement; cum autem haec fratribus ostendissimus...³ the change of person is particularly noticeable. In his account of the trial of the lance Raymond quotes Peter Bartholemew as swearing an oath of the truth of his visions,⁴ and it seems possible that this account, now incorporated into his work, played some part in the trial.

This document is, of course, atypical, but it is notable that all visions are extremely carefully dated. It seems at least possible that Raymond was writing his work on the basis of journey notes of varying quality; naturally in matters which most closely engaged his attentions they were better than in matters peripheral to his particular interests. This is quite consistent with the weaknesses of Raymond's method already pointed to,⁵ notably his bad chronology, and his habit

1. Om. Bartholomeus, "D" and "J".

2. vid. inf., p. 220.

3. vid. inf., p. 229.

4. vid. inf., pp. 247 et n.a.

5. vid. sup., Introduction, Section IV, p. XCI.

of going off into informative digressions on the one hand,¹ especially if it suits a didactic purpose, and on the other of making statements which leave the reader somewhat "in the air".²

It appears, in fact, that Raymond was writing his chronicle on the basis of journey notes of varying quality. It is at least possible that that section of the work which deals with the period before the departure of the army from Marra was partly written by that time; although he often refers back to events and persons,³ except in those manuscripts already mentioned⁴ he never refers forward in time. Far more detailed writing up was done in the later sections of the work, where the journey notes appear to have been carefully worked over. Given this method of writing, the actual ending as we have it seems very odd; even in the event of death it is a strange point for such an episodic writer to end. On balance it seems more likely that either the archetype or the autograph of Raymond's chronicle was damaged at some point after he had himself finished writing. It is not, of course, possible definitely to prove this, but what is important is to recognise that at an early period

1. vid. sup. Introduction, pp. XLVIII et seq.

2. His remark about the whereabouts of Robert of Normandy at Christmas 1097: vid. inf., p. 38.

3. e.g. to Taticius, vid. inf., p. 51.

4. vid. sup. p. CXL, n. 4.

either a manuscript (possibly the archetype π or the autograph χ) was in an incomplete form, or was badly damaged, as this may have some bearing upon the later history of the work.

The Central Problem

The central problem facing the editor in the preparation of an edition of the Historia Francorum may be seen easily, at least in outline, by even a casual reading of the two editions which have appeared to date; those to be found in the Gesta Dei per Francos of Jaques Bongars,¹ and in volume III of Historiens Occidentaux in the series Recueil des Historiens des Croisades.² By chance in the case of Bongars, and by design in that of the editors of the Recueil each of these editions may stand for one branch in the textual tradition of the Historia Francorum.³ They are radically different, although clearly recognizable as versions of the same chronicle. This radical split in the textual tradition forms the outline, (but only the outline), of the essential textual problem, and in itself raises questions of analytic procedure.

1. J. Bongars, op.cit., pp. 139-183.

2. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, pp. 232-309.

3. This is not made at all clear in the Apparatus Criticus of the R.H.C. edition; vid. sup., pp. CXXXII.

Families

Mass¹ defines the term "family", as applied to textual criticism, as being:

... a group of witnesses shown by conjunctive errors to belong together as against other witnesses, but whose internal interrelations are of no importance for the moment, and need not be discussed.²

Strictly speaking, Mass³ makes it clear that there is no place for this conception, but he admits its occasional usefulness, and certainly it is an extremely useful concept to use in the elucidation of the textual history of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers.

There are amongst the eleven⁴ witnesses to the text of the Historia Francorum two groups of manuscripts which may be regarded as families in the sense of Mass's definition. The first group constitutes manuscripts "A", "C", "E", "F", "G", "H"; all these manuscripts very closely resemble each other, and indeed, as will be demonstrated, they derive from a lost exemplar,⁵ ~~ex~~. As against these are manuscripts "D" and "J" ("J" is of course the Bengars edition); both these manuscripts very closely resemble each other, and in fact they derive from

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1. Paul Mass, Textual Criticism (Oxford, 1958).
 2. Mass, op.cit., Appendix I, p. 48.
 3. *ibid.*
 4. *vid. sup.*, General Description of the Manuscripts, pp. CII et seq.
 5. *vid. inf.*, pp. CLXXXIII et Stemma, pp. CCV.

a lost exemplar *m* . "G" may stand for *α*, and "J" for *m* in the following analysis.

A collation of the two manuscripts reveals a considerable number of significant variants which may be classed under three heads; in the first place there are differences of order; in the second of content, and in the third of style and syntax. Some examples are necessary to demonstrate how disparate in fact the two families are.

The chief difference in order lies in the positioning of the last words of Peter Bartholemew. In the *m* family these are to be found at the point in the narrative when Peter dies; this may be regarded as their 'natural' positions:

Interes Petrus
Bartholomeus. morbo defatigatus ex conuassatione et
vulneribus convocavit Comitem et Principes eius. et
dixit eis. 'Finis vitae meae appropinquavit ...
fideliter servatis. Tu vero Comes. cum veneris in
Ierusalem ... Dominus ei mitteret.'¹

In the *α* text the same passage occurs directly after the narration of Peter Bartholemew's vision of the Bishop of Le Puy on the night of 3rd August 1098:

Cum vero Petrus morte perurgeretur
apud obsidiones Archados advocavit Comitem et dixit ei,

1. vid. inf., pp. 273-275.

'Cum veneris in Ierusalem ... Dominus ei mitteret.'¹

As has been indicated above the matter of the positioning of this speech has serious implications concerning the manner in which the work was written, and so constitutes a serious textual problem.

Certain major variants of content also separate the two families, and these are fairly numerous. In general \mathcal{C} has more readings against \mathcal{M} than vice versa, but the latter group do in fact have certain important readings as against all other manuscripts. Most notably, in the early stages of the work, \mathcal{M} contains the statement:

Cum vero venimus Thessalonicam infirmatus est Episcopus, et remansit cum paucis infra civitatem.²

which \mathcal{C} completely omits. Most other chroniclers mention the wounding of the Papal legate by Patsinaks,³ but this is the only explanation given anywhere for his late arrival⁴ at Constantinople. It is in fact the \mathcal{M} text which tells us

1. vid. inf., pp. 147 et 274.

2. vid. inf., p. 13, v.2.

3. e.g. Peter Tudebode in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, Thema II, IV p. 19.

4. On 30th April 1097 according to Hagenmeyer (144, p. 69). Raymond's chronology would probably place it a little earlier; vid. inf., p. 17.

that the city of Antioch was betrayed per Boimundum¹ to the Franks; \mathcal{C} makes no mention of his part in the matter.² The \mathcal{M} text's only other serious variant of this kind occurs with reference to the death of Pontius de Baladun, Raymond's co-author, during the siege of Arqa. In relating the death of Pontius Raymond was moved to an extraordinary passage of self-revelation, avowing his sacred duty as a priest, to the truth. Into this in \mathcal{M} is interpolated the remark:

Obiit karissimus
meus in Domino. Pontius de Baladuno. sicut iam dictum
est. apud castrum Archados.³

The peroration of Raymond's soul - searching then continues on the theme of charity. This remark, apparently out of place, is totally omitted in \mathcal{C} .⁴

\mathcal{C} in contrast has a great many readings not known to \mathcal{M} , and many of these are fairly important. Thus it is from the \mathcal{C} recension that we know the exact date of the third of Peter Bartholemew's visions which led up to the invention of the Holy Lance: ... cum apud portum Sancti Symeonis, sabbato in Palmis.⁵ essen.⁶ Again, while from the \mathcal{M} text Peter

1. vid. inf., p. 76, v.3.

2. vid. inf., p. 76.

3. vid. inf., p. 202.

4. vid. inf., p. 202, v.3.

5. On. 'sabbato etc.'..... D & J.

6. vid. inf., p. 97.

apparently, at this time, only made one attempt to reach the island of Cyprus, the α text adds

Sigue secundo et tercio a transitu prohibiti. in insulam. ad portum Sancti Symeonis reversi sumus.¹

The name of the city attacked by the Count of St. Gilles and the Duke of Lorraine, at the latter's instigation, comes again only from the manuscripts of the α tradition: ... quodam castrum quod Asa vocatur.² obsedit.³

Speaking of the good condition and high prestige of the Christian army at the beginning of the siege of Arqa Raymond of Aguilers remarks:

Et non solum isti. sed de multis civitatibus et castellis. munera nobis mittebant (Sarraceni).⁴

This passage is entirely omitted in the manuscripts of the η tradition. Further, after Raymond's account of the vision of Bernardus sacerdos, Raymond passes a comment found only in the manuscripts descended from α :

Haec et multa alia Episcopus et Heraclius sacerdoti dixerunt. quae modo non sunt necessaria.⁵

1. vid. inf., p. 100.

2. Om. quod Asa etc.D & J.

3. vid. inf., p. 148.

4. vid. inf., p. 217 et v.5.

5. vid. inf., p. 243 et v.2.

These selected variants indicate the divergence of the manuscript tradition of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers. Far more important and numerous, however, and far more obvious, are the extensive differences in style and expression between the two texts. This occurs at all possible levels. For example, a collation of "G" against "J" reveals 366 cases of alternate words being used; "G" has some 1617 variants, in toto against "J". Very frequently these are changes of adverbs; igitur and enim, autem and ergo, or even autem and vero being changed frequently. In general the text of "J" reveals a fondness for prefixes; ire in "G" becoming adire, pugnare becoming propugnare. Both texts tend to regard the pronouns is, ille and hoc as interchangeable, although "J" shows a rather greater tendency to precision and variety. Now of course it is easy to make a certain number of mistakes of this kind; et is an acceptable reading for etiam written et̄, and prefixes can be only too easily missed. Again it is perfectly true that there is some variation of this kind between "A", "C", "E", "F", "G", "H", but relatively little; far more important is the degree of unanimity as opposed to "D" and "J". The frequent changing of words and use of synonyms, in fact, between the two families cannot be regarded as accidental. Indeed it may be noted that the readings of "J" generally give a rather more precise sense to the word and sentence than to be found in the manuscripts of the α family. Occasionally a change of word is extremely important, and tends to be indicative. Thus towards the end

of the work Raymond refers to Ademar of Le Puy as ... Ademaro Aniciensis Pontifice¹ in the manuscripts of the *M* tradition this reads ... Ademaro Podiensis Pontifice.² Raymond himself was from Le Puy, and in the late eleventh century, at least locally, the town was still referred to, in Latin, under its Roman name, Anis (Aniciensis); hence the chronicle of the monastery of Saint Peter of Le Puy is called Chronicon Sancti Petri Aniciensis. In that work, and its companion piece in the Chevalier edition,³ the cartulary of St. Chaffre, Le Puy is usually, but not invariably referred to as Anis. Most of the contemporary chroniclers of the Crusade refer to Podium e.g. Ademarus, Podiensis Episcopus.⁴ It is a little surprising that Raymond of Aguilers does not use the old name of the town more often, but then documents in the archives of the cathedral,⁵ as the eleventh century goes on, tend to refer to Sancta Maria Podiensis rather than Sancta Maria Aniciensis, and it seems likely that the use of the old title was declining at this time. For Raymond to use it occasionally

1. vid. inf., p. 351 et v.6.

2. ibid.

3. U. Chevalier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Chaffre du Monastier (Paris, 1884). The Chronicon monasterii S. Petri Aniciensis is also edited in E.H.G.F., vol. XII (Paris, 1877).

4. e.g. in the Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill), p. 74: rector et pastor extitit Podiensis Episcopus.

5. Some of the surviving documents are now kept in the Archives du Département de Puy-de-Dôme, and it is these that the present writer has examined.

would not be surprising; a later scribe, however, or one who was not immediately local might well find the more widely accepted title Podiens more natural.

Alterations of style and grammar are fairly frequently found in the *12* text. One notable characteristic of the *12* text is the quite frequent use of the shortened form of the third person plural. Occasionally, notably in "C", a scribe has taken this for an infinitive, and supplied a verb. This has invariably happened in the manuscripts of the *12* tradition, amongst all of whose manuscripts there is not a single case of the use of the shortened form. A notable example occurs as follows:

<i>12</i>	/	<i>12</i>
<u>Hostes vero. sine mora</u>	/	<u>Hostes vero sine mora.</u>
<u>sine misericordia. cadere</u>	/	<u>sine misericordia cadem</u>
<u>persequi et spoliare</u>	/	<u>persequi et spoliare</u>
<u>mortuorum cadavera.</u> ¹	/	<u>mortuorum ceperunt cadavera.</u> ¹

Such grammatical alteration points to some kind of scribal enervation and indeed a considerable number of passages show signs of such treatment. The rescue of the Bishop of Le Puy from the Patsinaks is expressed by the two traditions in different ways:

1. vid. inf., p. 40 et n.2.

<u>α</u>	/	<u>π</u>
<u>interea sonus auditur in</u>	/	<u>interea sonus exiit in</u>
<u>castris et sic inter moram</u>	/	<u>castris, et sic inter moram</u>
<u>hostium et impetum</u>	/	<u>hostium et impetum</u>
<u>sociorum eripitur.</u> ¹	/	<u>sociorum, eripitur.</u>

Rather more striking is the abbreviated form in which the π text gives the account of the beginning of the conversation between Bernardus Sacerdos and his dead Lord Heraclius, in a vision. Here considerable editing is evident:

<u>α</u>	/	<u>π</u>
(Bernardus) <u>... vidit in</u>	/	(ibid) <u>... vidit in</u>
<u>faciem Domini sui vulnus</u>	/	<u>faciem Domini sui vulnus</u>
<u>unde ipse vitae mortalis</u>	/	<u>non esse sanatum. Et ait</u>
<u>labores finierat. Et dixit</u>	/	<u>sacerdos. 'Quid est hoc'</u>
<u>ei presbyter. 'Domine nos</u>	/	<u>Et respondit Heraclius</u>
<u>iam credebamur quod vul-</u>	/	<u>Cum Ego...'</u>
<u>neratus hoc vestrum</u>	/	
<u>sanatum esset. Quid est</u>	/	
<u>hoc? Et respondit Heraclius/</u>	/	
<u>'Bene hoc quaesisti: cum</u>	/	
<u>ego...'</u> ²	/	

It may be added that in both texts the circumstances of Heraclius's death have already been made quite clear,³ so it is not information but merely a piece of repetitive dialogue which is missing.

1. vid. inf., p. 12 et v.4.

2. vid. inf., p. 242 et n.4. and 5.

3. vid. inf., p. 130.

A less extensive, but equally important piece of editing is to be found when Raymond describes the sortie of the garrison of Jerusalem against the leading troops of the approaching Crusader army:

<u>α</u>	/	<u>ℳ</u>
<u>egressi Iherosolimitae</u>	/	<u>egressi Sarraceni de civitate</u>
<u>obviam prioribus de</u>	/	<u>obviam prioribus de nostris</u>
<u>nostris...</u> ¹	/	<u>...</u> ¹

The number of such alterations indicates a conscious revision of one text by a scribe, who might more accurately be described as an editor. It is fairly certain that the editor was the scribe of the manuscript ℳ from which derive manuscripts "D", "J". It is noticeable that the readings of the Bongars edition are somewhat smoother and display at least marginally more feeling for words. There are other indications in the text. Occasionally short explicatory passages are found in the texts of the ℳ tradition to explain things which just are not very clear in the α tradition. Thus Raymond tells us that at the battle of Dorylaeum,² when Solimann³ the leader of the Turks saw the army of the other leaders approaching to the relief of Bohemond's beleaguered force, he fled. An interesting interpolation is to be found in the manuscript of the ℳ

1. vid. inf., p. 305 et n.3.

2. On July 1st 1097.

3. vid. inf., p. 25, n.a.

tradition.

<u>℄</u>	/	<u>ℓ</u>
<u>... cognovit Solimannus et</u>	/	<u>... cognovit Solimannus et</u>
<u>qui cum eo erant exercitum</u>	/	<u>qui cum eo erant exercitum</u>
<u>nostrum contra suum in</u>	/	<u>nostrum. id est Episcopi,</u>
<u>pugnam concurrere ...</u>	/	<u>Duci et Comitibus. contra suum</u>
<u>fugere compulsus est.</u> ¹	/	<u>in pugnam concurrere ...</u>
	/	<u>fugere compulsus est.</u> ¹

The constant insertion of names into the manuscripts of the ℓ tradition is another indication in the same direction. In the ℄ text very frequently the Count of Toulouse is simply referred to as Comes; in the manuscripts of the ℓ tradition he is very frequently named.² Exactly the same thing happens in those passages in which Raymond of Aguilers himself uses the first person singular, and readings of ego Raimundus in the manuscripts descended from ℓ for simple ego³ found in the manuscripts descended from ℄ are common. All this tends to support the possibility of revision, and this is supported by other factors.

The Virgin Mary is very frequently mentioned in the course of Raymond's work. In the manuscripts of the ℄ family she is usually simply referred to as Beata Maria; occasionally

1. vid. inf., p. 25 et n.3.

2. e.g. vid. inf., p. 6, v.1.

3. vid. inf., p. 151, v. 3. and 4.

she is given a rather more elaborate title, Beata Virgine Maria, Mater Iesu Christi¹ though this is rare. In the manuscripts of the *m* tradition, however, the title given is always, at its least elaborate, Beata Maria Semper Virgine.² The attribution, Semper Virgine, is never found in the manuscripts of the *c* tradition. It would be a very odd scribe indeed who deleted every semper in references to the Virgin; a very odd kind of heretic too. Raymond himself can hardly be accused of withholding the title; he was after all Canon of St. Mary of Le Puy;³ he simply gave her a quite normal attribution, Beata Maria. But a scribe of a later generation, not necessarily very much later, when the cult of the Virgin was growing strong and becoming immensely popular, especially if he set out to polish up a little rustic Latin, might well have elaborated on the titles due to the Virgin.

A revision has in fact been carried out, and the revision had as its object the improvement of the Latin style of Raymond of Aguilers. This is most marked in the speeches Raymond so frequently reports in his work, some of which come very close to having been rewritten. It is in fact in passages of reported speeches that we find the reviser hardest at work. In the most sustained passage of speeches in the entire work, the great

1. vid. inf., p. 235.

2. vid. inf., p. 235 et n.5.

3. vid. inf., p. 5.

final vision of Peter Bartholemew,¹ and the supporting speeches of the Provençal clergy,² "G" has some 130 variants from "J" of which 23 are omissions, 28 insertions, 30 represent changes of word, and 36 of word order; in addition, there are a number of changes of grammar syntax, and word order.³

Even allowing for scribal error, many of the readings in this passage tend to bear out the suggestion of revision, and illustrate tendencies to be seen in other similar passages in the work. Thus, elsewhere⁴ it has been suggested that ambiguities in the text of the manuscripts of the α tradition have been clarified in those resembling "J". In the passage referred to we find certain ambivalences also, which have been clarified, for example: (Christ speaks first)

α	/	μ
<u>... vis cognoscere eos qui</u>	/	<u>... vis cognoscere eos qui</u>
<u>nos non credent. 'Et dixi</u>	/	<u>nos non credent. 'Et dixi</u>
<u>(Petrus) 'Etiam. Domine'</u>	/	<u>'Etiam Domine'. Et Dominus</u>
<u>'Congregat Comes...'⁵</u>	/	<u>'Congregat Comes...'⁵</u>

The brief insertion effectively clarifies who is speaking. The same thing is found a little later. After a sustained passage

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1. On the night of April 6/7, 1099.
 2. vid. inf., pp. 219-243.
 3. vid. inf., App. Crit., pp. 219, 243.
 4. vid. sup. p. CLIV.
 5. vid. inf., p. 225 et n.6.

of speech in the first person singular, the Bishop of Agde¹ speaking, the text goes on;

<u>℄</u>	/	<u>℥</u>
<u>Et ego qui haec scripsi...</u> ²	/	<u>Et ego Raimundus qui haec</u>
	/	<u>scripsi...</u> ²

In the course of the Bishop of Agde's speech, he reports seeing a man holding the Holy Lance, and clearly the Bishop was very insistent on the point, from the expression used in both sets of manuscripts:

<u>℄</u>	/	<u>℥</u>
<u>... et tenebat (homo)</u>	/	<u>... et tenebat lanceam</u>
<u>Dominicam Lanceam, dico</u>	/	<u>Dominicam istam in manibus</u>
<u>istam, in manibus...</u> ³	/	<u> suis...</u> ³

The rather clumsy emphasis of ℄ has been carefully glossed over in the revision.

Changes of word order are very common in this passage, as throughout the whole work. They can hardly be regarded as important, except in so far as they tend to align the manuscripts of the ℄ tradition against those of the ℥ tradition. Marked changes of style and syntax, however, occur in this passage.

1. vid. inf., p. 149 et n.c.

2. vid. inf., p. 239 et n.5.

3. vid. inf., p. 238 et n.6.

Thus compare the variant descriptions of Christ on the cross given by Peter Bartholemeu:

<u>α</u>	/	<u>η</u>
<u>Petrus autem capite suo a</u>	/	<u>Petrus autem in capite suo,</u>
<u>dextris sustinebat.</u> ¹	/	<u>illam a dextris sustinebat.</u> ¹

In the passage under question a quite frequent change occurs in connecting clauses. Thus:

<u>α</u>	/	<u>η</u>
<u>Et dixit mihi Dominus</u> ²	/	<u>Et ait Dominus</u> ²

Throughout the work, in the two recensions, there is very little alteration of stock words and phrases, simply because Raymond himself appears not to have used many. For example, he recounts the custom of the army concerning captured towns and castles twice, but expresses himself very differently on each occasion:

<u>Etiam mos erat in exercitu</u>	/	<u>Erat enim ista consuetudo</u>
<u>ut si signum alonius Franci</u>	/	<u>inter nos. ut si aliquid ad</u>
<u>in civitate aut castello</u>	/	<u>castellum vel villam prior</u>
<u>repireretur. a nullo postea</u>	/	<u>venisset. et posuisset signum</u>
<u>expugnabatur.</u> ³	/	<u>cum custodia. a nullo alio</u>
	/	<u>postea contingebatur.</u> ⁴

1. vid. inf., p. 221 et n.5.

2. vid. inf., p. 229 et n.1.

3. vid. inf., p. 199 et n.a.

4. vid. inf., p. 304.

However, it has already been noted that the reviser carefully emended Raymond's use of the shortened form of the third person singular.¹ Another distinctive point of style to be found in the manuscripts of the α tradition was also usually altered by the reviser; the habit of using the subjunctive construction in a comparative clause. Thus:

α	/	η
<u>ante pugnam pauciores</u>	/	<u>ante pugnam pauciores eramus</u>
<u>hostibus esse videbatur.</u>	/	<u>quam hostes. in bello...</u> ²
<u>in bello...</u> ²		

There are several other examples; the following occurs much later in the chronicle:

α	/	η
<u>... exercitus multiplicari</u>	/	<u>... exercitus multiplica-</u>
<u>videbatur...</u> ³	/	<u>batur...</u> ³

The manuscript tradition of the manuscripts descending from η , is in fact the product of a considerable revision, one might say edition, which was principally aimed at altering the style of the work. The scribe of η in fact very thoroughly revised the work of a manuscript, which at least in style and general expression, must have closely resembled α . This,

1. vid. sup. p. CLX.

2. vid. inf., p. 131 et n.8.

3. vid. inf., p. 188 et n.5.

however, says nothing about differences of order or content; it cannot be assumed that any such differences, as we may find in the manuscripts descending from *M*, are the work (or error) of the scribe of *N*, since as far as the analysis has yet proceeded, we know nothing of the exemplar of *N*, except that it must have borne rather more than a general resemblance to *Q*.

Finally a note on the scribe of *N*. It seems likely that he was a Provencal; he was certainly a very strict reviser paying attention to even minor detail, but he passed occasional rare words and uncommon usages. Thus the imperial escort in the Balkans is described by Raymond as: ritu leonem incrudescentes.¹ The simile itself is, of course, biblical; an obvious source for it is I Peter, 58; diabolus ... tamquam leo rugiens.² The use of incrudescentes for rugiens is very rare. Souter cites it as meaning to 'rage' only after 1327,³ although many manuscripts of the Historia Francorum are older than this, and Ducange⁴ makes no mention at all. Again, the use of the alternative perfect form of pango is passed, in a rather special sense: Accessit autem et aliud, quod omnes principes praeter comitem, Boamundo civitatem, dum caperetur,

1. vid. inf., p. 10.

2. Vulgate: the Clementine edition.

3. Souter, Revised Medieval Latin Word List (London, 1965), p. 243.

4. Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et infimae Latinitatis (Paris, 1854).

pepigerunt.¹

Raymond, however, uses relatively few words in anything like a rare sense. It is far more important to note that in no way has the standpoint of the chronicle been altered in the revision, nor, as happened in certain manuscripts of the Gesta Francorum² was any attempt made to bring into unwonted prominence, or cast a good light on any particular character. This was in fact a Provencal edition, and in so far as it differs from other manuscripts, such differences can only be elucidated by reference to the relationship of the manuscripts.

The concept of families has been used to indicate the basic textual problem of the manuscript tradition of the Historia Francorum, and to indicate the general nature of that problem, i.e. the existence of a major split in the manuscript tradition, in part deriving from a stylistic revision almost amounting to an edition. It is not thereby implied that the inter-relationship of the manuscripts within the families is to be ignored, nor that other manuscripts, not mentioned as falling within these two groups, are to be disregarded in the preparation of the text.

The group which has been entitled *α* will be examined first, because it contains the oldest extant manuscripts of

1. vid. inf., p. 50.

2. Vatican Regensis lat. 641, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi. 281, both display a noticeable tendency to exalt the Duke of Normandy; R. Hill (ed.) Gesta Francorum, Introduction (by R.A.B. Mynors), pp. xxxix et xl.

Raymond's work, and because the only systematic edition of the Historia Francorum, that to be found in the series Recueil des Historiens des Croisades,¹ used one of its manuscripts, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 14378 (olim St. Victor 205)² as the basis of their text.³

1. loc.cit.

2. Cited in their App.Crit. as "A"; vid. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, p. 233, Index Codicum Manuscriptorum etc.

3. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, Préface, p. xxy: Ce manuscrit (St. Victor, 205) qui nous a servi de base...

THE MANUSCRIPT RELATIONSHIPS

Reference has been made in the preceding section to a group of manuscripts, "A", "C", "E", "F", "G", "H", which has been given the title, α . This group of manuscripts do resemble each other very closely as has been indicated;¹

however, they also differ from one another, and in any case

... there is no place for this conception (of families) in stemmatics strictly speaking; there are only individual witnesses...²

It remains then, to examine the individual manuscripts of this group, and to relate them to one another, and to other manuscripts and groups of manuscripts.

The manuscripts "A", "C", "E", "F", "G", "H" are all derived from a common exemplar, no longer extant, which will be termed α .³ This is indicated by a number of factors, but basically there is a clear and obvious similarity between all of them. In collation the most common divergence is a reading of "A", "C", "E", "F", "G", "H" against "D", ^{and} "J", "I". More specifically these manuscripts give the last words of Peter Bartholemew at a point in the narration long before the actual occurrence of his death.⁴ More conclusively perhaps,

1. vid. sup. pp. CXLIV et seq.

2. Mass, op.cit., loc.cit.

3. vid. Stemma, pp. CCV. This has already been posited (supra, pp. CXLIV). It is not intended, as far as possible, to prove it.

4. vid. sup. pp. CXLVI - CXLVII.

is the significant conjunctive error to be found in all these manuscripts; this is the clearly accidental splitting up of the speech of St. Andrew in the sixth vision of Peter Bartholomew, on the night of 14th June, 1098.¹ This change of order makes complete nonsense of the sense of the speech; it is accidental and confirms the common origin of these manuscripts. This is not to say that the manuscripts of this group do not differ from each other; they do, and it is necessary to ascertain in what way each is related to \mathcal{C} and to the other manuscripts of the group, in order to have any possibility of demonstrating the relationship of \mathcal{C} to the manuscripts of the \mathcal{H} tradition.

Previous editions are of very little help in this, for neither that of Bongars nor that found in R.H.C.(Occ.) can, in any sense be called critical. However, a starting point may be taken from the remark in the preface to the R.H.C. edition, describing Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5131,² saying that it is: de la même forme que le manuscrit A³ dont il reproduit le texte.⁴ Manuscripts 5131 (my "H") and 14378 (my "F") are in fact very closely related. The layout and

1. vid. inf., p. 112 et v.l.

2. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, p. 232, Index Codicum Manuscriptorum etc; this manuscript is their "C" (wrongly numbered 5531, vid. Préface, p. xxvi).

3. i.e. Bib.Nat.Lat.14378 (olim St. Victor 205), vid. sup. p. CXIV.

4. R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. III, Préface, p. xxvi.

form are, as remarked in the preface of the R.H.C. very similar.¹ A detailed examination confirms rather than denies this similarity.

In the matter of chapterization, at first sight there would appear to be a disparity between the two manuscripts. "F" is divided into sixteen chapters, some of which are indicated by numbers, others by introductory rubrics; "H", in contrast, is divided into only 12 chapters. The following table indicates the disparity.

No./	"F"	/	"H"	/ Ref.
1./	(Introductory Rubric)	/		/(pages in Te]
	/ <u>Antiocheno bello quod</u>	/		/ 4.
	/ <u>Fulcherius supra in huius</u>	/		/
	/ <u>voluminis exordio descrip-</u>	/		/
	/ <u>sit, liber iste Raimundi</u>	/	<u>IBID</u>	/
	/ <u>de Guilers adiectus fuit</u>	/		/
	/ <u>ut minus continentia unius</u>	/		/
	/ <u>ex alterius suppleretur</u>	/		/
	/ <u>eloquio.* B-¹</u>	/		/
2./	II Q- *	/	<u>Om.</u>	/ 11 et v.5.
3./	III *	/	<u>Om.</u>	/ 19 et v.4.
4./	V. (in left margin)*	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 24 et v.5.
5./	VI I- *	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 30 et v.1.
6./	VII N- *	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 53 et v.1.
8./	VIII C- *	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 63 et v.4.
9./	X J- *	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 76 et v.4.

1. vid. sup. ~~General Description of the Manuscript~~ p. CLXV et n.3.

No./	"F"	/	"H"	/ Ref.
10./	<u>CAPTA EST CIVITAS ANTIO-</u>	/		/
	<u>/ CHIAS TERTIO NONAS IUNII.</u>	/	<u>Om.</u>	/ 81 et v.5.
	<u>/ OBSESSA AUTEM CIRCITER</u>	/		/
	<u>/ UNDECIMO KALENDAS NOVEMBERI.</u>	/		/
11./	<u>Incipit Inventio Domini</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 88 et v.1.
	<u>/ Lanceae*</u>	/		/
12./	<u>... tradidit. pparuit...²</u>	/	<u>Om.</u>	/ 101 et v.1.
13./	<u>Amen.XI. F- *</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 134 et v.1.
14./	<u>... eveniebat.XVII M- *</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 205 et v.1.
15./	<u>... vidit. XVIII *</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/ 219 et v.1.
16./	<u>tetendimus. De columba</u>	/		/
	<u>quae deferebat litteras ad</u>	/		/ 298 et v.1.
	<u>nocumentum nostrum. D- *</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/

* indicates heading or capital is in colour.

1. E- indicates coloured capital.

2. Capital apparently omitted.

Differences there are, but the similarity of the chapterization is much more remarkable. Thus in H chapters 2 and 3, which are in fact numbered two and four in F, are omitted, but the numeration continues at exactly the same point with the number V. (five) as in F. The capital letters rendering the dates of the siege and fall of Antioch in "F" are not reproduced in "H", but it is to be noted that these are not written in red, and in fact constitute part of the text.¹ In chapter 12,²

1. vid. sup. p. 81, v.5.

2. vid. sup.

the scribe has evidently intended to add a capital, but failed to do so. Most striking of all, however, is the suspension of numeration in favour of chapter headings between X and XI, to be found in both H and P, and the subsequent crazy order of numeration, jumping from XI to XVII,¹ again found in both F and H. In both manuscripts it is notable that a chapter heading evidently precluded numeration. This chapterization is common only to F and H, although other manuscripts may divide occasionally at the same points.² Further, the division makes the length of chapters very variable indeed. It would seem in fact that what we have here reproduced are copies of an incomplete scheme of chapter division. It seems unlikely indeed that H represents a copy of F, in view of its omissions. There would seem to be no reason for deliberate omission, especially as H was generally prepared to accept the scheme even to its oddest points. It seems likely that the omission of 2 and 3³ represent an error of H, while the readings of F at 10 and 12⁴ are idiosyncratic. This tends to point to F and H being copies of a common exemplar which contained an imperfect scheme of chapterisation.⁵

1. vid. sup. Table, p. CLXVII.

2. vid. inf., pp. 134 and 219.

3. vid. sup. Table, p. CLXVI.

4. vid. sup. Table, p. CLXVII.

5. F has a more complete scheme of chapterization in its Index Capitolorum; the importance of this schema will be discussed later; vid. inf. Table, pp. CLXXXV - CLXXXVIII.

A textual analysis of the two manuscripts further indicates how closely related they are. They have, as against all other manuscripts, certain common errors. Thus in all other manuscripts, during the vision of the 2/3 August, 1098, Ademar instructs, concerning apostates: mittite duos vel tres ex his in carcerem;¹ in F and H this reads: mittite V vel tres ex his in carcerem.¹ A little later Raymond refers to alius capellanus nomine Symeon;² in F and H this reads: ... alius caput nomine Symeon.² In the course of describing the Patriarchal election after the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond refers to the Bishop of Martirano³ as the prime mover in the election of Arnulf, as Patriarch: Episcopo Martranensi qui huiusce rei inceptor et administrator fuerat.⁴ The reading in F and H is in fact a correction (——); Episcopo Martranensi qui huiusce rei ^{inventor} ~~inceptor~~ et administrator erat.⁴

F and H also have certain omissions against all other manuscripts. Thus in the speech of quidam Surianus⁵ there is a reference to the writings to be found in the gospel of St. Peter, with, in all manuscripts except F and H, an aside by the writer: ... in Evangelio Beati Petri (Quod nos non

1. vid. inf., p. 144 et v.4.

2. vid. inf., p. 50 et v.2.

3. Arnulf, B. of Martirano in Southern Italy; Gesta, R. Hill, pp. 93, n.6.

4. vid. inf., p. 358 et v.5.

5. vid. inf., p. 234.

habemus) quod gens...¹

Again, speaking of the preparations for the final assault upon the city of Jerusalem, manuscripts F and H miss an important passage to be found in all other manuscripts:

... de comportenda lignorum materia; et Gasto, de
construendis necessariis sollicitudinem agebat.
Similiter Comes Raimundus...²

F and H omit ... et Gasto ... agebat.²

This is enough to suggest that F and H are, in fact, very closely related (though not to say how) but there is a rather more significant set of readings, quite large in number, which set F and H apart from the other manuscripts. These constitute a number of changes of word, expression and grammar.

The only case of an extension of the title of the Virgin in the manuscripts of the \mathcal{L} tradition is to be found in F and H, in a singularly odd position. All other manuscripts narrate, in the vision of the priest Stephen on the night of 10/11th June, 1098 the appearance of mulier quaedam,³ who addresses Christ in tones which imply that she is the Virgin; this identification is never made clear; but in F and H she is referred to as mulier Maria mater Jesu Christi quaedam.⁴ The insertion is clumsy and inappropriate at this point.

1. vid. inf., p. 236.

2. vid. inf., p. 232 et v.2.

3. vid. inf., p. 105.

4. vid. inf., p. 105, v.3.

Again all other manuscripts relate that when, in September 1098, Peter Bartholemew had a vision near Rugia in the chapel of the Count of Toulouse, there were also present in the tent

... Episcopus Atensis¹ et Capellanus Comitis Raymundus et alius...² F and H read: ... Episcopus Atensis et Capellanus Comiti Raimundi et alius...² It is only in F and H that the king of Tripoli is referred to as Rex Tripolitanus:³ Rex Tripolis³ is found in other manuscripts.

Between the 3rd and 6th June 1099 the crusader army rested at Ramleh; in that time they held a conference at which it was suggested that the army should proceed to Egypt rather than straight on to Jerusalem. This was opposed by other crusader leaders, who, in all manuscripts other than F and H, urge ... viam nostram teneamus:⁴ for this F and H read, rather more biblically: ... viam rectam teneamus.⁴

In addition there are a number of alternate words used, as against all other manuscripts; expugnatio for oppugnatio, and egrederetur for ingrederetur, for example, and also fairly frequent cases of changes of mood; placari possemus for placere possemus. The result is that both these manuscripts, which very evidently stand in close relationship to one another, present a text notably different in detail from that presented

1. vid. inf., p. 149 n.c.

2. vid. inf., pp. 149-150 et v.1.

3. vid. inf., p. 262 et v.4.

4. vid. inf., p. 303, v.4.

by any of the other manuscripts of the *α* tradition.

Given then that these two manuscripts, F and H, are very closely related, the question remains as to how they are related. One case is out of the question; F cannot be a copy of H, for H is known to be a later manuscript than F.¹ It follows that either H is a copy of F, or that they are both, through perhaps an unknown number of intermediaries, copies of a manuscript *A*², now lost, as suggested by the evidence of the rubrics.³ H is not derived from F and this can be demonstrated. A number of readings of F are not reproduced by H. Thus the peculiar reading of F; exercitus noster Constantinopolim velim⁴ is not reproduced by H, which reads venit⁴. F gives the name of the knight left behind by the Bishop of Albara⁵ at Marra as Guillelmus de Cuniliaco;⁶ H gives his name in full: Guillelmus Petrus de Cuniliaco,⁶ as do all other manuscripts. The omission () of F: ingrederetur in ignem (rogem) quaedam avis⁷ is not found in H. The dislike of the scribe of *n* for the shortened form of the third person plural is, at a

1. vid. sup., General Description of the Manuscripts, pp. CXV & CXX.

2. vid. inf., Stemma, p. CCV.

3. vid. sup. pp. CLXVI - CLXVII.

4. vid. inf., p. 17, v.4.

5. Peter of Narbonne; vid. inf., p. 157, n.a.

6. vid. inf., p. 192 et v.8.

7. vid. inf., p. 248, v.6.

point untouched by *n* , mirrored in F:

<u>"F"</u>	/	<u>Others</u>
<u>Turci autem discurrere et</u>	/	<u>Turci autem discurrere,</u>
<u>sagittare ceperunt nimis</u>	/	<u>sagittare nimis audacter</u>
<u>audacter nostris in</u>	/	<u>incurrere.</u> ¹
<u>incurrere.</u> ¹		

F is clearly not the exemplar of H, hence it follows that F and H are derived from a common exemplar *A* , now lost. In view of the very minor differences between F and H it seems likely that both manuscripts were in fact copied at first hand from *A* , and that it can be fairly certainly reconstructed from F and H. The joint variants of F and H which are derived from *A* , suggest that the scribe of *A* did a little revision of the text he had before him, and this is a matter of some importance.

For reasons which will later be made clear,² manuscript E will be considered apart. In practise it is the three other manuscripts of the *α* family which must be considered, because between them they present a text variant to that of *A* . All three contain a highly significant common variant from all other manuscripts in the description of the departure of the Count of Toulouse from Marra on January 13th 1099:

1. vid. inf., p. 66, n.3.

2. vid. inf. pp. CLXXXIV.

<u>A.C.G. (and E)</u>	/	<u>All others</u>
<u>et consecutus est nos</u>	/	<u>Et consecutus est nos</u>
<u>Tancredus cum quadragenti</u>	/	<u>Tancredus cum quadragenti</u>
<u>militibus et peditibus</u>	/	<u>militibus et peditibus multis.</u>
<u>multis, et Robertus Nor-</u>	/	<u>Cumque hoc...</u> ¹
<u>maniae Comes cum quadragen-</u>	/	
<u>ti milites et peditibus mul-</u>	/	
<u>tis. Cumque hoc...</u> ¹	/	

In fact it is known that the Duke of Normandy did not leave Marra with the Count of Toulouse, but made junction with the Provencal force at Kepharda;² however the passage could be read to mean simply that the Duke joined the Count. The repetition of numbers makes the passage dubious, for it seems likely that the army of the Duke of Normandy must have been bigger than that of Tancred.³ For the moment, however, the passage cannot simply be dismissed.

Despite this reading conjunctive to A, C, and G, in fact manuscript A has no further significant variants conjunctive with C and G. While it has considerable connections with other manuscripts. C and G are, in fact, very closely related manuscripts.

1. vid. inf., pp. 185-186 et v.l.

2. (Comes) pervenit usque Capharda. fuitque ibi per tres dies. Illic adiunxit se comes Normanniae comiti Raimundo: Gesta Francorum (R. Hill, ed.), p. 81.

3. vid. S. Runciman, History of the Crusades, vol. I Appendix II, The Numerical Strength of the Crusaders, pp. 336-341.

At the beginning of his narration of the siege of Antioch Raymond of Aguilers gives a description of the city, in the course of which he describes the plain in which it stands as being of a certain size. The reading of CG is variant to that of all other manuscripts:

<u>CG</u>	/	<u>All others</u>
<u>... in latitudinem per diem/</u>		<u>... in latitudinem per diem</u>
<u>unum tenet viatorem. et</u>	/	<u>unum tenet viatorem. et in</u>
<u>dimidium diem in longitu-</u>	/	<u>longitudine diem et dimi-</u>
<u>dine.¹</u>	/	<u>dium.¹</u>

In describing the food brought to Arqa by the allied fleets, manuscripts C and G give a list variant from that given by the other manuscripts:

<u>CG</u>	/	<u>All others</u>
<u>... cum frumento. vino et</u>	/	<u>... cum frumento. vino et</u>
<u>oleo et hordeo et carne...²</u>	/	<u>hordeo et carne...²</u>

C and G have certain common errors. Thus Etenim cum caeteris omnes victi,³ is a fairly clear misreading for Etenim cum essetis omnes victi,³ while again a fairly obvious product of a misreading is ... et armatorum peditum grandis exercitus non est,⁴ for ... et armatorum peditum grandis numerus non est.⁴

1. vid. inf., p. 31 et v.1.

2. vid. inf., p. 203 et v.3.

3. vid. inf., p. 170 et v.6.

4. vid. inf., p. 302 et v.5.

In dating the decision of Peter Bartholemew to undergo the trial by fire Raymond remarks that four days later it was Good Friday (1099). In A, F and H this is expressed: ... et post quartem diem erat Parasceve;¹ in C and G rather differently: ... et post quatuor dies erat Parasceve.¹ Further, in the vision of the priest Ebrardus he describes meeting a Syrian Christian who described seeing a vision; (Surianus) ... eram ante fores ecclesie Beate Mariæ;² the reading of CG reflects an omission; (Surianus) ... eram ante fores Beate Mariæ.²

Most important of all, however, C and G are the only manuscripts which have two readings highly critical to the establishment of the relationships of the manuscripts descended from α . As has already been mentioned, like A they both contain the statement about the departure from Marra of the Duke of Normandy.³ Further, however, they alone of all the manuscripts descended from α give correctly the list of areas from which according to Raymond of Aguilers, came the people called Provinciales:

... namque omnes de Burgundia et Avernia et Gaseonia et Gothi Provinciales appellabantur.⁴

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1. vid. inf., p. 245 et v.2.
 2. vid. inf., p. 236 et v.1.
 3. vid. sup. pp. CLXXIII - CLXXIV.
 4. vid. inf., p. 42 et v.5.

A, F and H read Alemannia for Arvernica.¹ The association of these two readings in manuscripts C and G is critical, and its importance will become evident.

Given that C and G are closely related, the question is how. C cannot be a copy of G, because G is a much later manuscript than C.² Equally G is most certainly not a copy of C, for G contains a very large number of variants not found in C. For example, the reading:

... satisfacere volens transire per altitudinem turris
voluit³

a mistake for:

... satisfacere volens. vel transire per ignem. vel
praevenire de altitudine turris³

is not reproduced by G. One of the most notable characteristics of C is a large number of variants of numbers from other manuscripts. Thus the number of knights committed in the battle of 2nd January 1099, is given by C as three hundred (CCC);⁴ in all other manuscripts as four hundred (CCCC).⁴

C and G in fact derive from an unknown exemplar, now lost, which will be called \checkmark .⁵ A detailed comparison

1. vid. inf., p. 42 et v.5.

2. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, p. CVIII & p. CXVII et n. 3

3. vid. inf., p. 106 et v.7.

4. vid. inf., p. 45 et v.4.

5. vid. inf., Stemma, pp. CCV.

of the chapterization of the two manuscripts tends to confirm this.

C	/	G
1./ (Introductory Rubric) <u>Anti-</u>		
/ <u>ochoeno bello quod Fulcher-</u>		
/ <u>ius supra in huius</u>		Ibid.
/ <u>voluminis exercitio descrip-</u>		
/ <u>sit. liber iste Raimundi de</u>		
/ <u>Aguilers adiectus fuit ut</u>		
/ <u>minus continentia unius ex</u>		
/ <u>alterius suppleretur</u>		
/ <u>elegio. * E-¹</u>		
2./ ... profectus. <u>Bellum unum</u>		<u>profectus est. Bellum unum</u>
/ <u>per maximum quod fuit inter</u>		<u>per maximum quod fuit inter</u>
/ <u>paludem et fluvium. H-*</u>		<u>paludem et fluvium. sequitur. H-*</u>
3./ consolatatus est. Qualiter		consolatatus est. (Gap left)
/ Lancea fuit Inventa. I-*		I-*
4./ ... custodiendum tradidit		
(Gap left) A-*		Ibid.
5./ usque ducentes. <u>Ubi</u>		Ibid.
/ <u>exierunt ad bellum*</u>		
6./ Amen. (Gap left) F-*		Ibid, but no gap left.
7./ ... qui eum vidit. A-*		Ibid.
8./ Om.		<u>de columba ab I ancipitral I</u>
		<u>capta quae litteram in collo</u>
		<u>portabit.</u>

1. E- indicates capital in colour.

* indicates chapter head or capital in colour.

The only significant variant is the last heading of G, which closely resembles that given by F, H (and E)¹ but is in fact out of place in the text, is variant from that heading, and is not put in red, or capitalised. It may be safely regarded as an idiosyncratic reading of G.

It has so far been established that the manuscripts descended from \mathcal{C} fall into two groups:

F and H derived from \mathcal{A}
C and G derived from \mathcal{V}

\mathcal{A} and \mathcal{V} are in fact the variant carriers, and up to this point must be regarded as copies of \mathcal{C} itself. However there is a fifth manuscript, A which has not so far been examined. The outstanding characteristics of A are that it shares with \mathcal{A} the misreading of Alemannia for Avernia,² and with \mathcal{V} the reading concerning the departure of the Duke of Normandy from Marra.³ Given the split in the manuscript tradition of \mathcal{C} , the question is whether A is to be regarded as a contaminated manuscript, or an independent witness to the text of \mathcal{C} (or a copy of an extant witness).

If A were a contaminated witness it would be expected to show readings in common with either C and G separately, or with their (largely) reconstructable exemplar \mathcal{V} , or with

1. vid. sup. p. CLXVII et infra p. CLXXXVIII, pp. xiv.

2. vid. sup. pp. CLXXVI - CLXXVII.

3. vid. sup. pp. CLXXIII - CLXXIV.

either F or H separately, or with their reconstructable common exemplar A. In fact, with the solitary exception of the reading concerning the Duke of Normandy manuscript A has no significant conjunctive reading with either ✓ or C G separately, except in the case of idiosyncratic readings of ✓ such as have already been indicated.¹ Further A has certain readings in common with A as against Υ, quite apart from the misreading of Alemannia for Avernia. Thus A, in dating Peter Bartholemew's decision to undergo the trial by fire, reads ... et post quartum diem erat Parasceve² as against the reading of ✓ ... et post quatuor dies erat Parasceve.² In the last great vision of Peter Bartholemew A and A both give the name of Pontius Pilate in full,³ as against the simple Pilate of ✓.³ The bitter laughter of the people at Marra, angered at the delay of the Crusade is expressed variously by the manuscripts:

D.J.	A.F.H.	C.G. (et E)
<u>He Ho non suffic-</u> <u>iunt principibus</u> ⁴	<u>Ho. non suffieunt</u> <u>principibus...</u> ⁴	<u>Et non suffieunt</u> <u>principibus...</u> ⁴

1. vid. sup. p. CLXXIV.

2. vid. inf., p. 245 et v.2.

3. vid. inf., p. 224, et v.8.

4. vid. inf., p. 164, et v.2.

Towards the end of the work there are other conjunctive variants of A with ~~A~~. Thus the army sent some knights to reconnoitre as they approached Ascalon; arrepitis armis, miserunt ad prospiciendum milites usque ducentos.¹ ✓ omits miserunt, as do all manuscripts except AFH.

Given that manuscript A has a great deal more in common with Δ than with ✓ (with which it has only one significant reading) and that therefore the hypothesis that A is a contaminated manuscript seems doubtful, it follows that A must be an independent witness (perhaps at several stages removed) to the same exemplar as Δ, which may be called ℑ,² and which can be reconstructed from the readings of A, F and H (at least in part). It is at this point that the reading Alemannia crept in to the manuscript tradition. The fact that, certain highly significant exceptions apart, A has relatively few common readings with FH, and that it has a number of less important readings in e.g. word order, in common with CG is due to the marginal revision, already indicated of exemplar ℑ by the scribe of Δ. Given that ✓ in no wise reproduces the text of ℑ, it follows that ℑ is not ∞, but a copy, and possibly a defective one, of ∞.

Further, it is clear that the chapterisation of Δ must have been an elaboration of that of ℑ, which was never fully entered into the text. The chapterisation of ℑ must

1. vid. inf., p. 365 et v.l.

2. vid. inf., Stemma p.CCV

substantially have been that of ✓ , for the chapteri-
zation of A and CG differ very little:

No./	A	/	(CG)	/Ref.
1./	(Introductory rubric) <u>Anti-</u>	/		
	<u>cohen bello quod Fulcher-</u>	/		
	<u>ius supra in huius</u>	/		
	<u>voluminis exordio descrip-</u>	/		
	<u>sit liber iste Raimundi de</u>	/		
	<u>Aquilera adiectus fuit. ut</u>	/	Ibid.	
	<u>minus continentia unius ex</u>	/		
	<u>alterius suppleretur</u>	/		
	<u>eloquio.* E-¹</u>	/		
2./	... profectus. <u>Incipit</u>	/	... <u>Bellum unum per maximum</u>	
	<u>bellum quod fuit inter</u>	/	<u>quod fuit inter paludem et</u>	
	<u>paludem et fluvium. H-*</u>	/	<u>fluvium. H-*</u>	
3./	<u>Aliud bellum ubi victores</u>	/		
	<u>extiterunt Turci. devictis</u>	/		
	<u>principibus nostris.</u>	/	Om.	
	<u>Bugundum et comitem. C-^{*2}</u>	/		
4./	<u>Incipit Inventio Domini</u>	/	<u>Qualiter Lancea fuit Inventio.</u>	
	<u>Lanceae I-*</u>	/	I-*	
5./	tradidit. <u>De Visione</u>	/	... tradidit. (Gap) A-*	
	<u>quiusdam sacerdoti A-*</u>	/		
6./	... Amen. F-	/	Ibid.	
7./	eum vidit. A-	/	Ibid.	
8./	Om.	/	de columba ab L ancipitrel L	
		/	capta, quae litteram in collo	
		/	portabit. ³	

1. * indicates chapter head or capital in colour. E- indi-
cates capital in colour.

2. C- indicates coloured capital.

3. This head is peculiar to G; vid inf., p. 298, v.5.

It is to be noted that while \checkmark omits the chapter head for the battle on the St. Simeon road, A has no heading for the section dealing with the final battle outside Antioch. The actual chapterization of Δ has been examined,¹ but F has an Index Capitolorum at its beginning, giving a scheme of 21 chapters.² This scheme contains chapter heads for both the battle on the St. Simeon road, and the final battle outside Antioch, each respectively being like those of A and \checkmark . Both omissions therefore may be regarded as idiosyncratic, and a chapterization scheme including both may be posited for \mathcal{J} , the common exemplar of A and Δ , from which the scribe of Δ drew up the schema of F.

It has been established, then, that the five manuscripts already examined derive in fact from two exemplars \mathcal{J} and \checkmark , the variant carriers. Of these, in that Δ is fairly clearly reconstructable, due to the closeness of the texts of F and H, \mathcal{J} may be reconstructed from Δ and A with a fair degree of certainty. \checkmark is a rather different case; it can only be reconstructed where C and G agree; otherwise its readings can only be suggested by rational conjecture. Given that we have no further textual evidence for the existence of any intermediary manuscripts between \mathcal{J} and \checkmark and \mathcal{C} , it must be assumed that these two exemplars derive fairly directly from \mathcal{C} itself,

1. vid. sup. Table, p. CLXVI et seq.

2. vid. inf. Table, pp. CLXXXV - CLXXXVIII.

which can, however, be reconstructed from the texts of ✓ and J. Evidence, however, of an intermediary stage between ✓ and α, albeit of a tenuous nature, can be obtained from a close examination of a manuscript which has so far been disregarded, manuscript E.

Manuscript E contains a conflation of the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers with that of Fulcher of Chartres,¹ as has been indicated. The text of Raymond's work is in fact contaminated. E is a copy of a collation of a manuscript resembling ✓ with a manuscript resembling A. E contains the statement that the Duke of Normandy left Marra with the Count,² but gives the list of Provinciales in a unique form; de Burgundia et Alemannia et Arvernia et Gothi etc.³ With ✓, E has certain common readings. Thus in dating the resolve of Peter Bartholemew to undergo the trial by fire E reads ... et post quatuor dies erat Parasceve⁴ as do both C and G.⁵ The laughter of the people, as in ✓, is expressed Et non rather than Ho non as in FH.⁶

Although fairly closely resembling ✓, E does not contain all the common variants of CG. Its ultimate exemplar

1. vid. sup., General Description of the Manuscripts, "E", p. CXII.

2. vid. sup. pp. CLXXIII - CLXXIV.

3. Compare supra, pp. CLXXVI & CLXXVII.

4. vid. inf., p. 245 et v.2.

5. ibid.

6. vid. ^{inf.} ~~sup.~~ p. 164 et v.2.

appears not to have been ✓, and certainly not to have been any derivative of C or G. It seems more likely that it is a copy, at a considerable distance removed, of an exemplar earlier than ✓, i.e. at a stage in the copying between ✓ and ℄, and this exemplar may be called ⚡.¹

E is however very clearly contaminated. Apart from the misreading of Alemmania for Arvernia,² it has other readings in common with Δ, notably ... huiusce mode rei Comitis... for huiusce rei Comitis,³ and correiperetur for caperetur.⁴ More critically, however, E shows a close similarity in chapterization to the scheme drawn up, but not carried out, to be found in the Index Capitolorum of F, which is probably a copy of the scheme of Δ.⁵

No./	Schema of F	/	E	/Ref.
1./	<u>De malis quae sustinuit</u>	/	<u>(1) De malis quae susti-</u>	5 et v.6.
	<u>/ exercitus Francorum in</u>	/	<u>nuit in itinere Comen</u>	/
	<u>/ Slavonia.</u>	/	<u>Sanoti Egidii et Episcop-</u>	/
		/	<u>us Podiensis. et quando</u>	/
		/	<u>Episcopus captus est et</u>	/
		/	<u>vulneratus fuit.</u>	/
		/	<u>(Capitula quarto)</u>	/

1. vid. inf., Stemma, p. CCV.

2. vid. inf., p. 42 et v.5. et supra, p. CLXXXIV.

3. vid. inf., p. 355, v.7.

4. vid. inf., p. 340 et v.4.

5. vid. sup. p. CLXVIII.

No./	Schema of F	/	B	/Ref.
2./	<u>Ubi Episcopus Padiensis</u>	/	(ii) <u>Quomodo Episcopus</u>	/ 11 et v.5.
	<u>/ captus fuit a Pinecatis.</u>	/	<u>fuit a Pinecatis plaga-</u>	/
	<u>/ et in capite vulneratus.</u>	/	<u>tus. (Capitule V^o)</u>	/
3./	<u>Ubi veniunt Niceam urbem,</u>	/	(iii) <u>Quomodo exercitus</u>	/ 19 et v.1.
	<u>/ et ubi reddita fuit impera-</u>	/	<u>venit Niceam urbem. com-</u>	/
	<u>/ tori.</u>	/	<u>positione facta cum</u>	/
		/	<u>imperatore Constantino</u>	/
		/	<u>politano. (Capitule VI^o)</u>	/
4./	<u>Bellum in Campo Florido</u>	/	(iv) <u>Bellum quod fuit in</u>	/ 24 et v.4.
	<u>/ factum.</u>	/	<u>Campo Florido ubi mira-</u>	/
		/	<u>biles generati per</u>	/
		/	<u>virtute Dei corruit.</u>	/
		/	<u>(Capitule septimo)</u>	/
5./	<u>Ubi veniunt Antiochia. et</u>	/	<u>Om.</u>	
	<u>/ qualiter facta vel sita est</u>	/		
6./	<u>Bellum quod Comes Flan-</u>	/	(v) <u>Bellum quod Comes</u>	/
	<u>/ drensia contra xii millia</u>	/	<u>Flandrensia fecit cum</u>	/
	<u>/ Turcorum fecit.</u>	/	<u>xii m. Turcorum.</u>	/
		/	<u>(Capitule XIII)</u>	/
7./	<u>Aliud bellum quod fuit</u>	/		53 et v.1.
	<u>/ inter padem et fluvium.</u>	/		
	<u>/ in quo bello non habuit</u>	/		
	<u>/ plus de nostris quam DCC^{tis}</u>	/	<u>Ibid.</u>	/
	<u>/ et devicerant xxviii^{ti}</u>	/	<u>(Capitule X)</u>	/
	<u>/ milia Turcos.</u>	/		
8./	<u>Item: aliud bellum ubi vic-</u>	/	(vii) <u>Aliud bellum ubi</u>	/ 62 et v.1.
	<u>/ toras fuerunt Turci. devic-</u>	/	<u>tiore fuerunt Turci.</u>	/
	<u>/ tis principibus nostris</u>	/	<u>devictis principibus</u>	/
	<u>/ Rosmundo et Comiti St.</u>	/	<u>nostris Rosmundo et</u>	/
	<u>/ Egidii</u>	/	<u>comiti St. Egidii.</u>	/
		/	<u>Capitule X^o sexto.</u>	/

No./	Schema of F	/	E	/Ref.
9./	<u>Ubi reddita fuit urbs</u> / <u>Antiochia.</u>	/	Om.	
10./	<u>Ubi lancea fuit inventa a</u> / <u>Petro Bartholomeo</u>	/	(viii) <u>Ubi lancea fuit</u> / <u>inventae quae latus Domi-</u> / <u>ni perforarit</u> (Ca° XX°) /	88 et v.l.
11./	<u>de visione cuiusdam sacer-</u> / <u>dotis.</u>	/	(ix) <u>de visione cuiusdam</u> / <u>sacerdotis et qualiter</u> / / <u>lancea Domini fuit</u> / / <u>inventae</u> (Capitulo XX° / / primo)	101 et v.l.
12./	<u>Ubi exierunt ad bellum</u> / <u>contra Corbagath.</u>	/	(x) <u>Hic Principes nostri</u> / <u>mandant per Petrum Here-</u> / <u>mitum Corbagath diem</u> / / <u>pugnam non terram</u> / / <u>Christianis dimitterent.</u> / <u>et exierunt ad bellum</u> / / (Capitulo XXV) /	122 et v.l.
13./	<u>Ubi obiit Ademarus. Episco-</u> / <u>pus Podiensis et ubi</u> / <u>apparuit in se Petro Bartho-</u> / <u>lomeo per visionem secundam</u> / <u>nocte qua defunctus fuit.</u>	/	(xi) <u>Ubi obiit Episcopus</u> / <u>Podiensis. et de multis</u> / / <u>revelationibus factis in</u> / <u>itinere Ierosolimitano.</u> / <u>Ca° XXXVI°.</u>	134 et v.l.
14./	<u>Ubi veniunt Albarum et</u> / <u>Marrem et obtinuerunt eas.</u>	/	Om.	/
15./	<u>Ubi veniunt ad oppidum</u> / <u>Archados.</u>	/	Om.	/
16./	<u>Ubi Anselmus de Riberi</u> / <u>Monte obiit.</u>	/	(xii) <u>Ibid. (XVII°)</u>	205 v.l.
17./	<u>De visione quam vidit</u> / <u>Petrus Bartholomeus.</u>	/	(xiii) <u>de multis aliis</u> / / <u>rebus et revelationibus.</u> / (Ca° XXVIII°)	219 v.l.

No./	Schema of F	/	E	/Ref.
18./	<u>Ubi Petrus Bartholomeus</u>	/	(xiv) <u>Ubi Petrus transi-</u>	/ 244 et v.1.
	<u>/ intravit in ignem. tenens</u>	/	<u>vit per ignem illaesus.</u>	/
	<u>/ lanceam in manibus et vivus</u>	/	<u>Capitulo XXX^o.</u>	/
	<u>/ extitit.</u>	/		
19./	<u>de columba quas litteras</u>	/	(xv) <u>de columba quas</u>	/ 298 v.1.
	<u>/ defererebat ad nocumentum</u>	/	<u>defererebat litteras.</u>	/
	<u>/ nostris.</u>	/	<u>Cap. XXV.</u>	/
20./	<u>Ubi veniunt Ierusalem.</u>	/	(xvi) Ibid. (Capitulo	/ 303 v.8.
	/	/	Trigesimo duo)	
	/	/	(xvii) <u>de obsidione</u>	/
	/	/	<u>eiusdem civitatis.</u>	/
	/	/	(XXXIII)	
	/	/	(xviii) <u>de Ordinationibus</u>	/ 347 v.1.
	/	/	<u>quas tenuit Franci quum</u>	/
	/	/	<u>civitas casti fuit.</u>	/
	/	/	(C ^o XXXV)	/
	/	/	(xix) <u>de aliis ordina-</u>	/ 360 v.6.
	/	/	<u>tionibus et conperi-</u>	/
	/	/	<u>tatis insis civitatis.</u>	/
	/	/	C ^o XXXVI ^o .	/
21./	<u>Bellum primum contra Asca-</u>	/	<u>de bello quod fuit contra</u>	/ 364 v.2.
	<u>/ lonitas.</u>	/	<u>Ascalonitas. XXXVII^o.</u>	/

Although a great deal of alteration has taken place, there is considerable similarity in the schema of chapterisation. It must be remembered that the scribe of E was fitting chapters of Raymond's chronicle in between chapters of Fulcher's,¹ so a certain degree of alteration must have been made necessary by

1. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, "E", p. CXII.

the exigencies of such a method of editing. Thus E omits heading 12 of F,¹ concerning the site of the city of Antioch, because Raymond's description of the city of Antioch was included with that of Fulcher under the heading, taken from Fulcher: de Compositione civitatis Antiochiae (Capitulum XVI^o). E omits heading 9 of F concerning the surrender of the city, but again the subject is virtually covered by Fulcher. Again chapter heads 14 and 15² of F appear to be omitted by E, but in fact the editor of E inserted, between (ix) and (x)³ the whole of Fulcher's history, down to the arrival of the army at Jerusalem, then returning to give Raymond's account of the final saving of Antioch, and the march to Jerusalem. The editor divided this long passage of Fulcher into three heads, two of them are: Ubi veniunt Albaram et Marram et obtinuerunt eas, and Ubi veniunt ad oppidum Archades.⁴ In other words, these titles were used but out of their context. The insertion of the three chapters at the end (xvi, xvii and xviii) is a reflection of the editor's need to slip chapters into Fulcher's narrative.

E is probably a copy of a collation of a manuscript

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1. vid. sup. p. CLXXXVII.
 2. vid. sup. p. CLXXXVII.
 3. vid. sup. p. CLXXXVII.
 4. vid. inf. p. 122 and supra, Table, p. CLXXXVII, "F", nos. 14 & 15.

closely resembling \checkmark , with a manuscript derived from Δ . These manuscripts cannot be clearly identified, but it is clear that the original exemplar marked a stage which may be called γ ,¹ in the copying tradition earlier than that of \checkmark . Because of this, the manuscript, though contaminated, is not entirely useless, and may, in fact, be useful when C G disagree, for the reconstruction of \checkmark . Unfortunately E is a very late exemplar; it is contaminated and it has many idiosyncratic passages which almost certainly were not found in γ . Its value for the reconstruction of \checkmark is therefore very limited.

Given that δ and γ/\checkmark are the variant carriers, it is possible to reconstruct manuscript α , largely on the basis of G and C, with corrections from Δ and E, since the relationship of A to Δ demonstrates the relatively greater value of CG as witnesses, compared with FH.

Finally a word may be said about manuscript α . All its descendents, except manuscript E, are contained in volumes containing the works of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor, and Raymond of Aguilers.² This is really rather an odd mixture. Further it is clear that α itself contained such a mixture, for the introductory rubrics before each of the works is always the same; that before Raymond of Aguilers Historia is invariable:

1. vid. inf., Stemma p. CCV.

2. vid. sup., General Description of Manuscripts, "A", p. CII; "C", p. CVIII; "F", p. CXIV; "G", p. CXVII; "H", p. CXX.

Antiocheno bello quod Fulcherius supra in huius voluminis exordio descripsit. liber iste Raimundi de Aguilera¹ adiectus fuit ut minus continentia unius ex alterius suppleretur eloquio.²

This is a very singular rubric, and, as it is always associated with the texts of the \mathcal{C} tradition, we may assume it to be original to \mathcal{C} . This enables us to draw up a terminus ante quem non, in dating \mathcal{C} . The work of Fulcher of Chartres terminates in 1127,³ and that of Walter in 1122;⁴ hence it follows that \mathcal{C} cannot be earlier than 1127/28. The oldest extant exemplar derived from it is Bib.Nat.14378, F, which was probably written about the year 1145,⁵ which satisfactorily establishes a terminus post quem non. 1127 is really quite a late date for \mathcal{C} , for it is known that the Historia Francorum was circulating in western Europe long before this, as witness the use made of it by Peter Tudebode.⁵ Further, it is known that a manuscript very like \mathcal{C} was circulating in Palestine some 60 years after the First Crusade, for William of Tyre made use of it.⁶ That it closely resembled

1. de Guilers; F, H.

2. vid. inf., p. 4, v.2.

3. vid. H. Hagenmeyer, Fulcher de Chartres. Historia Hierosolimitana (Heidelberg, 1913).

4. Edited in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. V, pp. 75-132; vid. Préface, pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

5. vid. inf., Appendix.III, pp.CCXLV - CCXLIX.

6. vid. inf., Appendix.III, pp.CCLX et seq.

the exemplar called is made quite clear, for William remarks that the Count of Toulouse left Marra:

Cui proficiscente Normannorum comes et Dominus Tancredus, uterque cum quadraginta equitibus et numerosa peditibus.¹

Clearly this is a reflection of the reading of :

Et consecutus est nos Tancredus cum quadraginta militibus et peditibus multis, et Robertus Normannorum comes cum XL militibus et peditibus multis.²

Given that the association of the Historia Francorum with two later works is really very odd, the possibility is introduced that ∞ represents a Palestinian tradition; however, this cannot be proven. The use made by Peter Tudebode of the work of Raymond of Aguilers, in fact suggests that he used a text very close to that of ∞ ;³ as Peter was writing at a time much before 1127 this strengthens the position of ∞ as a witness to the text of Raymond's history. The limited use of Raymond made by Tudebode,⁴ however, and the fact that he largely transposed those passages he used into his own style,⁵

1. R.H.C.(Oce.) vol. I; William of Tyre, Lib.VII, Cap.XII, p. 295.

2. vid. inf., pp. 185-186 et v.l. et supra.

3. vid. inf., Appendix.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.

must be considered.¹

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *M* TRADITION

It has already been suggested² that the two manuscripts of this group, D and J are ultimately derived from a common exemplar *M*, which was itself a revision of an exemplar whose text, at least in style, was very close to that of *C*, but had certain variants. The mass of evidence identifying these manuscripts as members of one manuscript tradition has already been examined.³ To work out the exact nature of their relationship is made difficult by the very closeness of their texts. Both D and J⁴ have the alternated ending derived from the Gesta Francorum.⁵ Both manuscripts contain explicit statements that this ending was not derived from the work of Raymond of Aguilers.⁶ Manuscript J has substantially the same text as D, but displays, for example, a greater tendency than D to insert names after titles.⁷ J has certain unique readings; thus in the vision of Peter Bartholemew of the night of 6/7th April 1099 J reads:

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1. The use made by the author of the Historia Belli Sacri was largely dependent on that of Tudebode and where not is inconclusive; vid. inf., Appendix III, pp. CCL et seq.
 2. vid. sup. pp. CXLV - CXLVI.
 3. vid. sup. pp. CXLV et seq.
 4. vid. inf., Appendix I, p. CCXV.
 5. *ibid.*
 6. *ibid.*
 7. e.g. vid. inf., p. 307, v.3.

Ordo iste similis mihi
est. Ego (Christus) enim in Ierusalem veni, gladios
et lanceas et genus tormenti. Ordo iste similis mihi
est: Ego enim in Ierusalem veni, gladios et lanceas
et fustes et baculos, demum et cruce non dubitavi.¹

D, like all other manuscripts, avoids this repetition.²

D is a manuscript of the thirteenth century; J cannot be dated as it only exists in the Bongars edition, so no possible relationship between them can be ignored in terms of chronology. From the above, however, it is clear that D is not a copy of J. That J is not a copy of D is indicated by certain readings of D not found in J. Thus the reading of D, Si Deus huic homini³ for Si Deus Omnipotens huic homini³ in all other manuscripts. Again D and all other manuscripts read for immunita illa pars remanserat,⁴ immunita pars illa permanserat.⁴ Finally a unique reading of D is not found in J; that of sic multum impediabat⁵ for ... sic multum molimina nostra impediabant.⁵ It follows therefore that J is not a copy of D, nor D a copy of J. Nor can D be identified with J, in view of the known 401 variants which separate the two manuscripts. Therefore it follows that D and J are

1. vid. inf., p. 222, v.2.

2. ibid.

3. vid. inf., p. 246, v.6.

4. vid. inf.,

5. vid. inf., p. 341, v.1.

both independent witnesses to their common exemplar *n*,¹ which given the closeness of the two manuscripts can fairly certainly be reconstructed from them.

Manuscript D is simply divided into short chapters with capitals, but no numbering or chapter heads.² In his edition Bongars did not record any chapter headings for J, but frequent gaps left in the text, often coinciding with the divisions of D, suggest a very similar scheme to that of D.³

It has been established that the exemplar of *n* must have been very like *Q* in style.⁴ However, unless all the particular variants of *n* are to be regarded as the products of revision, or of accident, it is impossible to demonstrate any relationship between *n* and *Q*, or any one of the latter's descendants whether extant or reconstructable.

Like *V* (CG) *n* gives the list of Provinciales correctly, not giving the reading of *A* of Alemannia for Alvernia.⁵

Like *A*, however, it makes no reference to the Duke of Normandy leaving Marra with the Count of Toulouse.⁶ No other reading connects *n* or any of its dependent manuscripts with

1. vid. inf., Stemma, p.CCV.

2. vid. sup., General Description of the Manuscripts, "D", p.CX.

3. vid. inf., Apparatus Criticus.

4. vid. sup. p.CLIV.

5. vid. sup. pp. CLXXVI - CLXXVII.

6. vid. inf., p. 186, v.1. et supra, pp.CLXXIII - CLXXIV.

œ or any of its descendants, hence it follows that the readings of *n* cannot for the moment be totally eliminated, except insofar as it is known that the scribe of *n* transposed the style of his exemplar which must in many ways have resembled œ . It remains then, to ascertain the text (if it is possible) of the exemplar of *n* , and (again if possible) to ascertain its relationship to œ . The key to the elucidation of this problem is manuscript B.

Manuscript B is unfortunately only a fragment,¹ but it covers what is textually the most critical section of the work of Raymond of Aguilers, starting from the march down to Arqa² and ending at the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem.³ It is in this stretch of the text that the greatest variation between the other manuscripts exists. The lack of other sections of this manuscript is of course to be regretted, but the existence of this critical section of the work in manuscript B is extremely important for the elucidation of the textual problems presented by the manuscript traditions of the work of Raymond of Aguilers.

The outstanding characteristics of manuscript B are that while, like *n* , it contains the death speech of Peter Bartholemew in its natural order,⁴ the style of the work

1. vid. sup., General Description of the Manuscripts, "B", p. CV.

2. vid. inf., p. 190, v. 8.

3. vid. inf., p. 328, v. 6.

4. i.e. as D and J at pp. 274-275 et v. 1.

conforms very closely to that in which α is written. Further, it has many readings usually found in either α and its descendants, or m and its dependents. B very clearly conforms to the style of α . Thus referring to Peter Desiderius, Raymond says that he has been mentioned before. This is expressed differently by α and m . B follows α :

m	/	α
<u>... Petro Desiderii, de quo</u>		<u>... Petro Desiderii, de quo</u>
<u>supra mentio facta est.</u> ¹	/	<u>superius mentionem habuimus.</u> ¹

α and m express very differently the orders issued to the army at Arqa when the approach of a hostile army was rumoured:

m	/	$\alpha + \beta$
<u>... mandatum est per nobis</u>	/	<u>... mandatum est per exerci-</u>
<u>ut omnes preparemur ad</u>	/	<u>tum ut omnes praeperarent se</u>
<u>pugnam.</u> ²	/	<u>ad pugnam.</u> ²

The scribe of m was especially active in passages of reported speech, as has been indicated,³ but little of this is found in B. Thus the clarification of m in the narration of the vision of the priest Ebrardus is not found in B:

1. vid. inf., p. 282, v.8.

2. vid. inf., p. 213 et v.1.

3. vid. sup. pp. CLVI - CLVII.

<u>n</u>	/	<u>α</u>
(Surianus) ' <u>... nisi prius</u>	/	(Surianus) ' <u>... nisi prius</u>
<u>lanceam Domini reperiret</u> '.	/	<u>lanceam Domini reperiret</u> .
<u>Et dixit sacerdos 'Si</u>	/	<u>Si aliquid...</u> ¹
<u>aliquid...</u> ¹	/	

Again the reading of B (and α) Et dixit mihi Dominus² for Et ait Dominus² of n must be noted. The extended form of the passage, already quoted at length,³ in which the priest Bernard confronts the spirit of his dead Lord, Heraclius,⁴ to be found in α is supported by B.⁵ It has been remarked that the scribe of n frequently found the need to clarify the text of his exemplar a little, and that one of the ways in which he did this was to put names to otherwise casual references;⁶ thus for example, Raymundus Comes for Comes⁷ or ego Raymundus for ego;⁸ of this kind of emendation B is wholly innocent.

Apart from insertions of a kind characteristic of the scribe of n, it has been pointed out that most of the

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1. vid. inf., p. 236 et v.3.
 2. vid. inf., p. 229 et v.1.
 3. vid. sup. p. CLIII.
 4. vid. inf., p. 130, n.a.
 5. vid. inf., p. 242, v.4.
 6. vid. sup. p. CLV.
 7. vid. inf., p. 6, v.1.
 8. vid. inf., p. 151. v.4.

variants of *n* from *α*, are in fact omissions.¹ B, like *n*, omits many of these readings of *α*; for example, at the end of the narration of the vision of the priest Bernard, *α* reads:

Haec et multa alia Episcopus et Heraclius sacerdoti dixerunt, quae modo non sunt necessaria.²

This is omitted in B, but the passage concerning the benefits accruing to the army from its prestige before the siege of Arqa, totally omitted in *n*, is found in B:

... habebamus. Et non solum isti, sed de multis civitatibus et castellis munera nobis mittebant.³

In the great vision of Peter Bartholomew, on the night of 6/7th April 1099, Christ says, recalling Genesis, that he forbade Eve: '... arbore scientiae boni et mali ne tangeret'.⁴ B follows this reading of *α*, but *n* reads '... arbore scientiae ne tangeret'.⁴

Certain distinctive readings, however, of *n* against all other manuscripts are found in B. Thus the list of those potentates who sent embassies to the Count of Toulouse reads:

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1. vid. sup. pp. CXLVIII - CXLIX.
 2. vid. inf., p. 243 et v.2.
 3. vid. inf., p. 217 et v.5.
 4. vid. inf., p. 228 et v.3.

<u>α</u>	/	<u>η</u>
<u>legati ab ammirato Camelae</u>	/	<u>legati ab ammirato Camelae,</u>
<u>et a rege Tripolis.</u> ¹	/	<u>rege Babylonis et a rege</u>
	/	<u>Tripolis.</u> ²

B follows η. The insertion of the passage concerning the death of Pontius de Baladuno is found in B, as in all manuscripts deriving from η,³ as also is the alternate number given for the knights who died with Galdemar Carpinelli:⁴

<u>α</u>	/	<u>η</u>
<u>... de parte Galdemari tres</u>	/	<u>... de parte Galdemari tres</u>
<u>milites.</u> ⁵	/	<u>vel quatuor milites.</u> ⁵

Manuscript B, then, has many of the characteristic readings of both α and η, but it is highly unlikely that it is a contaminated manuscript. It is obviously out of the question that it might be a copy of a collation of an exemplar derived from η, with a copy, or an ancestor of α, for it has some 680 variants from η mostly, apart from unique variants, agreeing with α. Equally it is unlikely to be a copy of

1. vid. inf., p. 198 et v.7.

2. The actual list in B reads: legati ab ammirato Babilone et a rege Tripolis; this is clearly a misreading of η rather than of α. vid. inf., p. 198, v.7.

3. vid. sup. p. CXLVIII.

4. vid. inf., p. 317, n.a.

5. vid. inf., p. 318, et v.6.

a lost archetype \mathcal{H} (or even autograph \mathcal{X}) of which \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{M} are more or less edited or defective versions, because except in very limited respects, its resemblance is too close to \mathcal{A} to permit such a hypothesis, and its own idiosyncratic readings are too clearly errors or misreadings. It would appear, in fact, that B is a copy of a manuscript now lost which may be called Ω ,¹ the text of which was later revised by the scribe of \mathcal{M} . B, in fact, represents (albeit imperfectly) the textual tradition upon which the edition \mathcal{M} , was based. The text of Ω can only be reconstructed with any certainty in the passage covered by B. However, the following observations can be made; that the full text of Ω must have clearly resembled that of \mathcal{A} in style, and generally in content. The nature of the probable and certain omissions of Ω from \mathcal{A} are not such as to suggest that they were later emendations into a text like Ω , and that, therefore, it is possible that Ω was a copy of a defective exemplar; further the special readings of Ω against \mathcal{A} cannot be ignored (i.e. readings of Ω against all other manuscripts) because although Ω had a general resemblance to it it does not follow that it followed it in detail, and indeed with respect to order we know it did not; finally it cannot be proved that Ω as a witness, is dependent on a predecessor of \mathcal{A} later than the archetype. \mathcal{A} and Ω

1. vid. inf., Stemma, p. CCV.

can only be regarded as copies of a lost archetype Π .¹ Therefore it follows that in preparing a text of Raymond's work, the variants of Ω , in so far as it can be reconstructed, cannot be discounted. This of course indicates that \mathcal{O} is, in some respects, a defective copy of the archetype .

One manuscript has not been discussed in the preceding analysis; K (Bib.Nat.lat. 6041A). This manuscript contains only a section of Raymond's work; the great bulk of it being a copy of the Historia Belli Sacri.² The author of this last quoted work was dependent for much of his use of the Historia Francorum upon the use made of it by Peter Tudebode.³ The scribe of K appears to have had an exemplar of the Historia Belli Sacri which had lost its first folios, and to have restored this section simply by copying the opening section of the work of Raymond of Aguilers, down to the description of the city of Antioch, ignoring the other works, notably the Gesta, which Tudebode himself had used. Unfortunately the scribe did not simply copy Raymond's work but transposed it into his own style. This makes K extremely difficult to use. However this much may be said about his exemplar; that it closely resembled \mathcal{O} , for it makes no

1. vid. inf., Stemma, p.CCV.

2. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, "K", pp.CXXVI - CXXVII.

3. vid. inf., Appendix.III, pp.CCL et seq.

mention of the Bishop of Le Puy stopping at Thessalonica.¹

K itself is a manuscript of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries;² although this does not imply that the copy of Raymond's work was made at this time. Further, both

α and *η* were textually very close at this point.³ Thus K as a witness to the text of the Historia Francorum is virtually useless, and to include its readings in the present text would be to overburden grossly the Apparatus Criticus. The manuscript is not of sufficient importance to warrant its inclusion in a parallel text. Hence, although K has been collated, it has not been used in the preparation of the present text. The chief interest of K is that it constitutes a large fragment of a new manuscript of the Historia Belli Sacri previously known by only one exemplar, that at Monte-Cassino.⁴

Finally only a small section of J2 survives; that printed by Bongars as its ending.⁵ This is variant from all other manuscripts in that it omits the last sentence.⁶ It is probable, however, that this is a fragment of a manuscript

1. vid. inf., p. 13, v.2.

2. vid. sup., General Description of the Manuscripts, "K", p. CXXVI.

3. vid. sup. p. CXLIV et seq.

4. vid. inf., Appendix III, pp. CCLI - CCLII.

5. Bongars, op.cit., p. 180.

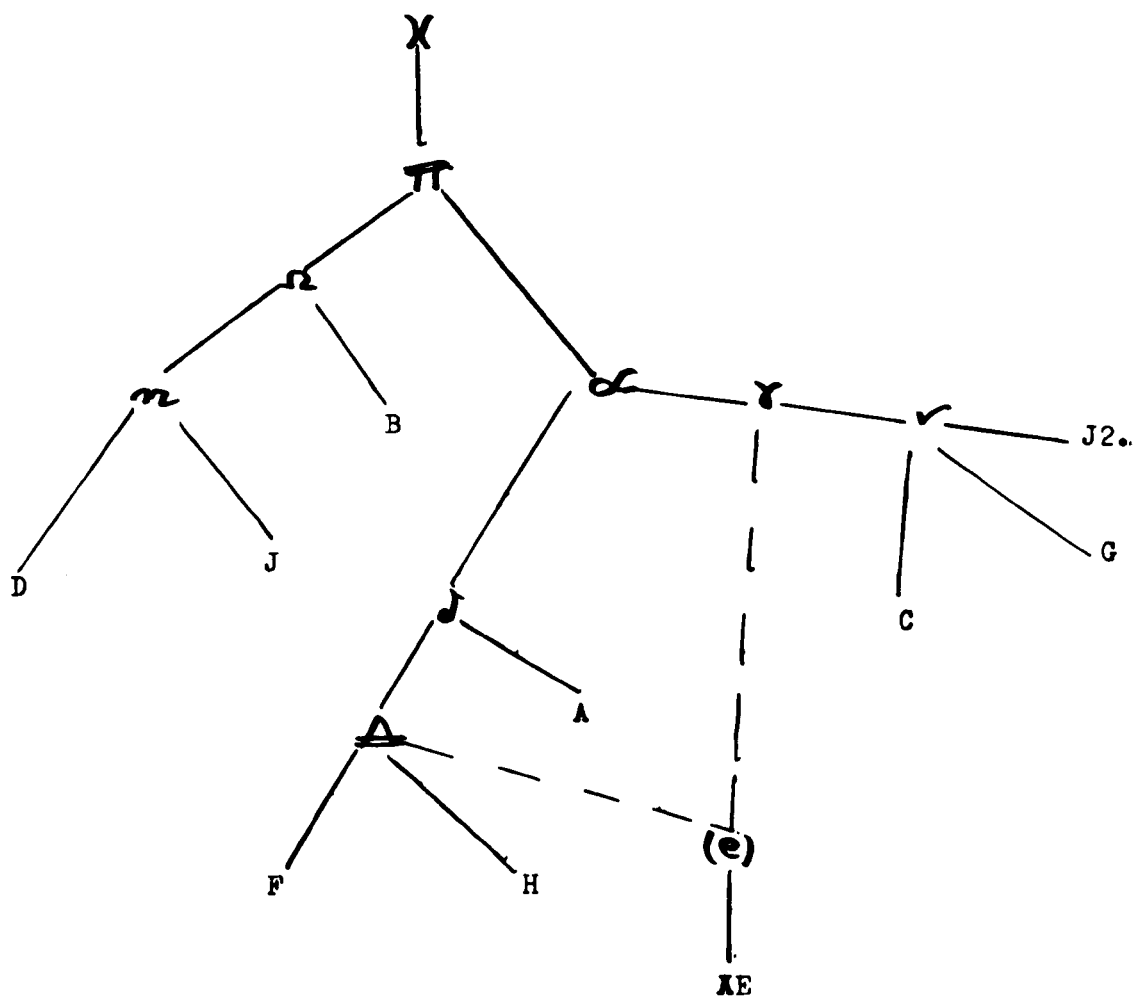
6. Bongars, op.cit., p. 181.

resembling α .¹ It is so small a fragment that it is possible to say only a very little about it. However it does not reproduce the reading of Δ (FH) which is in fact a correction: ... qui huiusce rei inventor et administrator
inceptor
erat² for ... qui huiusce rei inceptor et administrator erat.² Nor does it share the reading of referimus³ for referebant,³ of Δ . Finally, it does not reproduce the reading of δ (AF and H) ... arreptis armis miserunt ad prospiciendum⁴ for arreptis armis ad prospiciendum.⁴

This at least goes some way to establish that J2 is not derived from Δ or δ , and that it has a closer resemblance to \checkmark than to δ . However, this is largely negative evidence, and for lack of any other kind it must be posited that J² is a copy of α , or possibly \checkmark .

-
1. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, "J", pp. CXXIII-CXIV.
 2. vid. inf., p. 358, v.5.
 3. vid. inf., p. 360, v.3.
 4. vid. inf., p. 363, v.1.

THE STEMMA



LEGEND

GREEK letters indicate reconstructable manuscripts

ROMAN letters indicate extant manuscripts

Chapter II

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

Section III

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

From the Stemma¹ it is clear that in order to present an authoritative text of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers it is necessary to attempt, in so far as it is possible, to reconstruct the archetype \mathbb{F} , from which all the known and reconstructable manuscripts derive.

It is evident that exemplar α , ultimate source of manuscripts A, C, E, F, G, H can be reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty. Given the closeness² of manuscripts F and H, \underline{A} may be reconstructed, and from \underline{A} and A so may \mathfrak{d} . Exemplar \checkmark clearly was probably closer to the archetype than Δ ,³ but its reconstruction is difficult in view of the numerous idiosyncratic readings of C. However, where CG agree \checkmark can be reconstituted, and used in the reconstruction of α . Where C and G differ, α can be reconstructed from the agreement of either with \mathfrak{d} , where C and G disagree with each other and with \mathfrak{d} , α can only be restored by reference to E, or by conjecture. In general readings of \checkmark are preferable in the reconstruction of α to readings of \mathfrak{d} , except in the case of peculiar readings of \checkmark . Therefore it follows that α can be reconstructed.

1. vid. sup. p.CCV.

2. vid. sup. pp.CLXX et seq.

3. Because \underline{A} was somewhat revised : vid. sup. p.CLXXIII.

The reconstruction of Ω is much more problematic. It is evident that m can be reconstructed from D and J with a considerable degree of certainty. Exemplar Ω however, can only be reconstructed in the section of it covered by B, and then with very little certainty, because B itself is a fairly defective copy, with a large number of idiosyncratic readings, most of which are clearly errors. It is known, however, that Ω resembled α in style therefore it follows that Ω can be reconstituted in matters of style:

- a) in those sections for which B exists, by the agreement of α and B.
- b) in those sections for which B does not exist, from the readings of α (with reference to m).

In other matters, however, where with certainty the readings of Ω can be definitely established as differing from α , if these represent omissions of Ω from α , then the readings of α are in general to be preferred. On the other hand the special readings of Ω cannot be ignored. In these latter cases the archetype Π can only be restored by divinatio. Substantially, by divinatio certain conclusions concerning the text of Π can be fairly firmly established.

Certain readings of Ω really must be accepted as having a place in Π . The first of these is the reading, as found in Ω and B of the list of embassies received by the Count of Toulouse. It may be objected that the Egyptian embassy could not have arrived at this point in the narrative,

but given Raymond of Aguilers' poor sense of chronology,¹ and the fact that he was writing later, it seems reasonable to accept this passage. Again, there seems to be no reason for rejecting the final statement concerning Pontius de Baladun: Obiit karissimus meus in Domino etc.² This is a very personal statement in a passage of personal revelation and soul-searching;³ it seems a logical way to end such a passage; it is, however, somewhat out of place.⁴ By the same token the statement of *m* and B, concerning the number of knights who died with Galdemar Carpinelli may be accepted.⁵ However, certain variants of *m*, unsupported by B must be rejected, including that concerning the convalescence of the Bishop of Le Puy at Thessalonica.⁶ This is not supported by B, because the fragment of B remaining to us does not cover that passage of the text. Further, there is the evidence of Peter Tudebode to be considered.⁷ Similar passages will be dealt with by the same criteria.

The most critical reading, however, of *Ω* which must be regarded as coming from *π* concerns the point in the text at

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1. vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, pp. XCI - XCII.
 2. vid. inf., p. 202, et v.3.
 3. vid. inf., pp. 201-202.
 4. ibid.
 5. vid. sup. p.CC et infra 318, v.6.
 6. vid. inf., p. 13, et v.2.
 7. vid. sup. p.CXLVII et infra Appendix III, pp. CCXXXVIII - CCXXXIX.

which the last words of Peter Bartholemew occur.¹ At the point at which they occur in ∞ , they are an anomaly. Raymond does not normally make far reaching references forward in time, except with some purpose.² No purpose at all can be seen for putting them in at the point at which they are found in ∞ . Further, down to the siege of Arqa this is the only reference forward found in any manuscript of the Historia Francorum. To get it into this section of the work a small introduction has been written: Cum vero morte perurgeretur apud obsidionem Archados, (Petrus) advocavit Comitem.³ In Ω the position of this passage is far more natural to the work as a whole. Further, because the passage can be proved to have been in Ω at all, and not to have been the product of any known revision, it must be given rather more than serious consideration.

It is impossible to say why the position of this passage has been altered in ∞ . Possibly it is a retrieved accident at some point in the copying between π and ∞ . Possibly it was the influence of Fulcher's chronicle, which concludes the whole story of the Holy Lance before going on to tell of the battle with Kerbogah.⁴ Whatever the posi-

1. vid. inf., pp. 274-275 et v.l.

2. vid. sup. pp.CXL - CXLII.

3. vid. sup. pp.CXLVI-CXLVII et infra, p. 147, v.l.

4. Hagenmeyer (ed.) Fulcheri Carnotensis, Historia Hierosolymitana, Lib.I, XVIII, 1-5, pp. 235-241.

tioning of the passage, it must be regarded as a peculiar error of ∞ . So must, equally, the variant of ∞ concerning the departure of the Duke of Normandy from Marra with the Count of Toulouse;¹ repetition makes this passage extremely doubtful, and it seems unlikely to have been in the archetype.

The general lines upon which it is intended to reconstruct the text of the Historia Francorum have now been indicated. In the matter of spelling classical usage will be adhered to, because as there seems little prospect of restoring Raymond's own, a recognized consistency seems desirable. In the matter of names of persons and places there is considerable variation, both as between manuscripts and within manuscripts in the case of names which are frequently repeated. Manuscript G is fairly consistent in its spelling; further, its general value for the reconstruction of ∞ is considerable, and it is a Southern French manuscript, and possibly the survivor of a largely Southern copying tradition. Certainly a Provençal origin for \checkmark might explain the large number of peculiar variants already referred to, occurring in G.² Hence it does not seem unreasonable to accept the spelling of proper names as given in manuscript G.

It is evident that the chapterization given in the Recueil edition, that of F and H, cannot be defended; it was the

1. vid. inf., pp. 185-186 et v.l., et supra p.CLXXIII.

2. vid. sup. p.CLXXVII.

product of the mild revision carried out by the scribe of A.¹ Therefore the chapterization adopted here is that of S, augmented from that of A. It is not really possible to posit the chapterization of FF, and that of α seems to be the oldest extant.

Finally a word must be said concerning the title of the work. The title Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem is found only in manuscripts D and J,² which are both derived from m; B unhappily has no title attached to it. In all the other manuscripts no formal title can be found, but in the introductory rubric of manuscripts A, C, F, G and H it is referred to as the liber ... Raimundi de Aguilers.³ Raymond never calls himself de Aguilers at any point in any manuscript of his work,⁴ so it must be presumed that he attached some kind of identificatory rubric to his work. The conventional title of Historia Francorum may be assumed to have been the work of the reviser of m, for the lack of any other evidence. However, as the work is widely known by the title Historia Francorum, and as there never seems to have been any other name attached to it, it would

1. vid. sup. p.CLXXIII.

2. vid. inf., p. 4.

3. vid. inf., p. 4, v.2.

4. Except in the case of an obvious insertion into the opening preamble in manuscript A; vid. inf., p. 5, v.1.

seem obscurantist to stick to the uninformative title
Liber Raimundi de Aguilera, which itself has in fact no
more real justification.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS

[] Passage possibly or certainly taken from another Chronicle

_____ Scribal Insertion.

_____] Scribal Correction.

.. Lacuna.

v.l. Variant 1.

n.l. Footnote 1.

THE TEXT

INDEX

CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM ET LIBRI TYPIS MANDATI
QUIBUS USUS EST EDITOR

- A : British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, No. 8927.
B : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 5132.
C : Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, No. 1102.
D : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 5511A.
E : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 5131A.
F : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 14378.
G : Bibliothèque de Clermont, No. 262.
H : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 5131.
J : Editio Bengarsiana.
J2 : a fragment from the Editio Bengarsiana.
K : Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 6041A.

INDEX CAPITULORUM¹

	PAGE
I. Bellum unum per maximum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium. ²	53
II. Aliud bellum ubi victores extiterunt Turci, devotis principibus nostris Boamundi et comitem ³	62
III. Qualiter Lancea fuit Inventa ⁴	88
IV. De visione cuiusdam sacerdotis ⁵	101
V. Ubi exierunt ad bellum ⁶	122
VI. (Ubi obiit Ademarus episcopus, et ubi apparuit ipse Petro Bartholomeo per visionem secunda nocte qua defunctus fuit.) ⁷	134
VII. ⁸ (De visione quam vidit Petrus Bartholomeus) ⁷	219

-
1. As included, with variants, in codices A, C and G. None of these have an index for the Historia Francorum: E, F, H have a rather more developed chapterization: vid. sup. p. CLXXXV et seq. The other codices have no chapter heads; their divisions are given in the Apparatus Criticus.
 2. ... et fluvium sequitur ... G. Incipit bellum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium ... A.
 3. Om. CG.
 4. Incipit Inventio Domini Lanceae ... A.
 5. Om. CG.
 6. Om. A.
 7. () A, C and G have chapter divisions but no headings at these points. These are taken from the Index of F: vid. sup. pp. CLXXVII-CLXXVIII, Caps. 13 and 17.
 8. G has one other chapter head: De columba ab ancipitral capta quae litteras in collo portabit: vid. inf., p. 298 et n.5.

Raimondi de Agiles. Canonici Podiensis:¹

HISTORIA FRANCORUM QUI CEPERUNT IHERUSALEM²

Episcopo Vivariensi^a domino meo, et omnibus orthodoxis,

1. Om. A, C, D, E, F, G, H.

2. Om. A, C, E, F, G, H. Manuscripts A, C, F, G, and H all have a common introductory rubric: Antiocheno bello quod Fulcherius supra in huius voluminis exordio descripsit liber iste Raimundi de Agilers (Aguilers. H; Guilers. F) adiectus fuit. ut minus continentia unius ex alterius suppleretur elegio. E is entitled: Incipit liber edictus tam a Fulcherio Carnotensi canonico quam a Rernundo d'Aguilers canonico Podiesi. viris valde eruditis. super Iherosolimitana expeditione factus in qua usque ad sanctae civitatis captiorem tribus annis. una circiter mensis iminus est.

- - - - -

a. Leodegar, Bishop of Vivier 1096-1119; P.B. Gams, op.cit., p. 656.

Pontius de Baladuno et Raymundus¹ canonicus Podiensis, salutem, et laboris nostri participationem. Necessarium vobis duximus² et transalpinis omnibus manifestare magnalia quae Deus nobiscum, solito³ pietatis suae more, fecit, et assidue facere non desinit; maxime ideo, quia imbelles et pavidī recedentes a nobis, falsitatem pro veritate astruere nituntur.⁴ Sed qui apostasiam eorum viderit, verba et consortia eorum fugiat. Exercitus enim Dei, et si pro peccatis flagellum Domini sui sustinuit,⁵ pro eiusdem misericordia victor super omnem paganitatem extitit.⁶

1. Raymundus/de Aguilers canonicus ... A.

2. duximus vobis ... D, F, H and J.

3. ex solito ... D.

4. falsitatem astruere pro veritate nituntur ... D and J.

5. flagellum sustinuit ... D.

6. extitit. De concilio Claramontensi quod tenuit Papa etc. There follows a long section of Fulcher, down to the next heading from the Historia Francorum: De malis quae sustinuit in itinere comes Sancti Egidii et Episcopus Podiensis et quomodo Episcopus captus et vulneratus fuit. Capitulo quarto. Sed quia ... E. (Compare the index capitulorum of F: vid. sup. p. CLXXIV, Cap. I.)

Sed quia alii per Sclavoniam, alii per Hungariam, alii per Longobardiam,^a alii per mare venerunt, taediosum nobis ad scribendum de singulis fuit. Quapropter dimissis aliis, de Comite et Episcopo¹ Podiensi, et exercitu eorum scribere curavimus.

² Illi igitur Sclavoniam^b ingressi, multa dispendia itineris passi sunt, maxime propter hyemem quae tunc erat.^c Sclavonia etenim est tellus deserta et invia, et montuosa, ubi nec feras nec volucres per tres hebdomadas vidimus. Incolae regionis adeo agrestes et rudes sunt, ut nec commercium nobis nec ducatum praebere voluerint, sed fugientes de vicis et de³ castellis suis, debiles anus, pauperes et infirmos,⁴ qui a longe prae infirmitate sua sequebantur exercitum nostrum⁵ ac si multum

1. Comite Sancti Egidii et ... D and J.

2. A gap is left here only in D and J.

3. Om. de ... A, D, F, H and J.

4. anus et pauperes infirmos ... A, F and H.

5. Om. nostrum ... D and J.

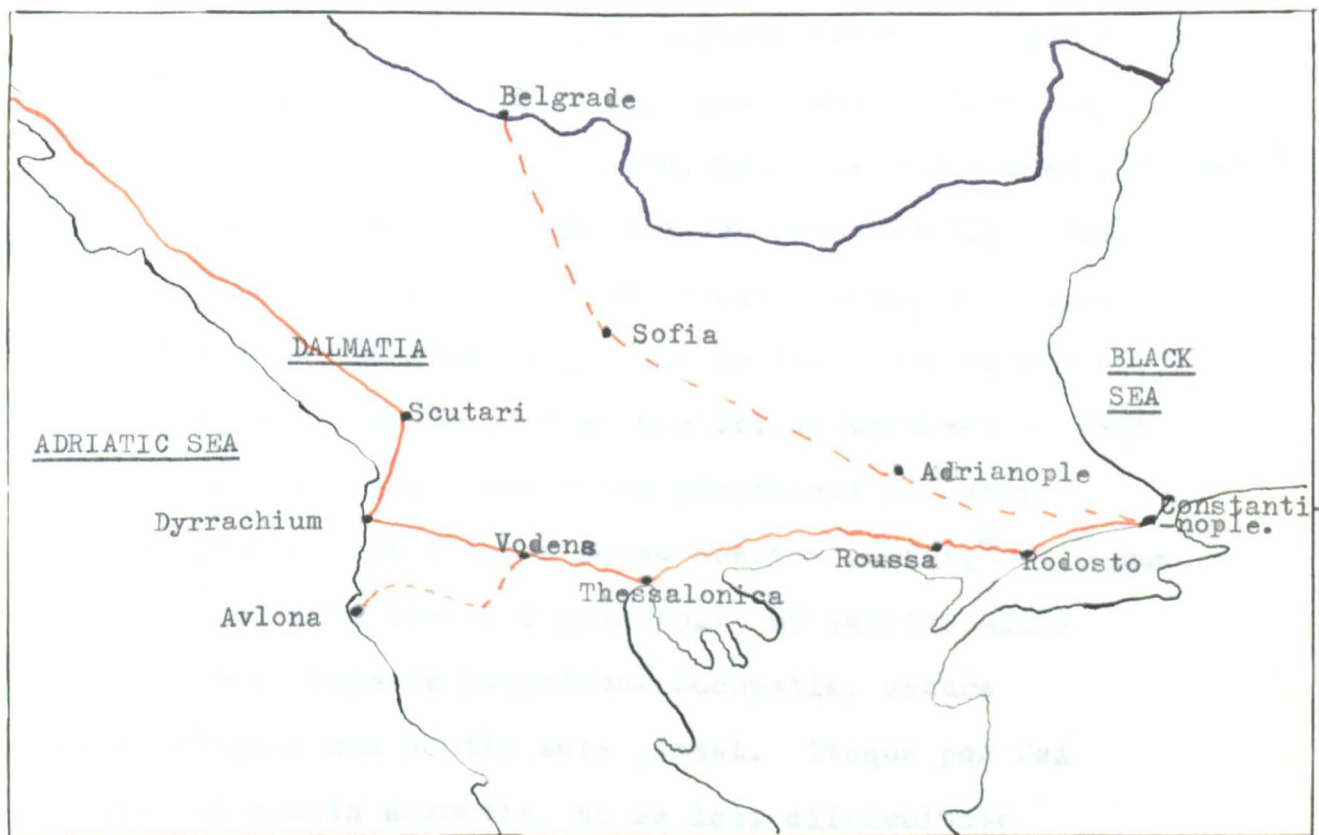
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a. i.e. Southern Italy.

b. i.e. Dalmatia, in what is now Yugoslavia.

c. The Provençals began their journey in mid-December.

THE FIRST CRUSADE : THE MARCH THROUGH THE BALKANS



Route of the Army of Raymond of Toulouse : ———

Route of the other armies : - - -

nocuissent, ut pecora trucidabant. Nec facile nostris militibus armatis erat latrones¹ inermes, locorum scientes,² per abrupta montium et condensa silvarum persequi; sed assidue eos sustinebant, nec pugnare valentes, nec sine pugna esse poterant.³ Quoddam facinus⁴ egregium comitis non praetereamus. Cum conclusus esset aliquando comes⁵ a Sclavis cum quibusdam militibus suis, impetum in Sclavos fecit, atque ex eis usque ad sex cepit.⁶ Cumque propter hoc Sclavi vehementius inni-nerent, et comes sequi exercitum compelleretur, erui oculos aliorum,⁷ et aliorum pedes abscondi iussit,⁸ et nasum et manus⁹ aliorum truncari praecepit, ut taliter aliis deterritis et doloris cognitione occupatis, secure comes effugere cum sociis suis posset. Itaque per Dei gratiam de mortis angustia, et de loci difficultate

-
1. Om. armatis ... D and J. ... nec facile militibus nostris erat latrones. G.
 2. itinera scientes ... D.
 3. nec sine esse pugna poterant ... D.
 4. Quoddam vero facinus ... D and J.
 5. comes aliquando ... G.
 6. impetum fecit in Sclavos, atque usque ad sex ex eis cepit ... D and J.
 7. oculos eorum ... D and J.
 8. iussit abscondi ... C.
 9. manibus aliorum ... A.

liberatus est. Quanta vero fortitudine et consilio comes ibi¹ claruerit non facile referendum est. Quadraginta etenim fere dies in Sclavonia fuimus, in quibus tantam spissitudinem nebularum passi sumus, ut palpare et per motum removeere eas a nobis aliquatenus possemus. Inter haec comes assidue in postremis pugnans, semper populum defendens erat; nunquam prior, sed semper² ultimus hospitabatur. Et licet alii meridie, alii vespere, comes frequenter³ media nocte vel galli cantu ad hospitium veniebat. Tandem per Dei misericordiam et comitis laborem, et episcopi consilium, sic exercitus transivit, ut nullum fame, nullum in aperta congressione ibi perderemus. Ob illam reor causam voluit Deus exercitum suum transire per Sclavoniam, ut agrestes homines qui Deum ignorabant, cognita virtute et patientia militum eius, aut aliquando a feritate resipiscant, aut inexcusabiles Dei iudicio adducantur. Tandem post multa

1. Om. ibi ... D and J.

2. ... erat; et nunquam prior, semper ... C, D and J.

3. comes vero frequenter ... D and J.

laborum ad regem Solavorum^a apud Cosdram^b venimus,¹ et² cum eo comes fraternitatem confirmavit,³ et multa ei tribuit⁴ ut exercitus secure emere et quærere necessaria⁵ posset. Sed haec opinio sola fuit. Nam satis pacis petita nos poenituit, cum per eius occasionem Solavi, de more solito furentes, nostros interficiunt et quae peterant ab inermibus⁷ arripiunt. Quaesivimus locum fugae non ultienis. Haecentus de Selavonia. ⁸Venimus Dirachium^c; credidimus esse in patria nostra,⁹ existimantes Imperatorem

-
1. laborum pericula apud Scodram, ad regem Solavorum pervenimus. D and J. laborum ad regem Solavorum apud Scodram venimus ... F and H.
 2. ac ... D and J. Om. F and H.
 3. ... Comes frequenter fraternitatem ... A, D and J.
 4. retribuit ... D and J.
 5. ... quærere sana ... D.
 6. Om. satis ... J.
 7. ... inermes ... C.
 8. V - enimus ... D: both D and J have a division at this point.
 9. Om. nostra ... D.

- - - - -

- a. Constantine Bodin, King of Zeta (ante 1070 - post 1101) part of the later kingdom of Serbia. Ostrogorsky, (trans. J.M. Hussey) History of the Byzantine State (Oxford, 1956), pp. 305, 318 and 324.
- b. The modern Scutari. The Provençals arrived there in late January.
- c. The city now called Durazzo, at the Western end of the Via Ignatia. The Provençals arrived there in early February.

Alexium et satellites suos nobis esse fratres et
 coadiutores. Illi vero, ritu leonem incorudescentes,^a
 pacificos homines, nihil minus quam arma cogitantes, invadunt;
 per occulta trucidant; in nemoribus, in vicis remotis a
 castris, quae peterant per noctem¹ furabantur. Et licet
 sic insanirent, tamen dux eorum^b pacem promittebat,
 et per pacis inducias Pontium Raynaldum interfecerunt,
 et fratrem suum Petrum^c mortaliter vulneraverunt,² et
 erant hii principes nobilissimi. Cumque locus ultionis

1. per totam noctem ... D and J.

2. ... et Petrum eius fratrem mortaliter plagaverunt ...
 D and J.

a. Compare I Peter, 58. For the significance of incorudescentes, vid. sup. Critical Introduction, p. CLXI.

b. Presumably this refers to John Comnenus, Governor of Durrasse: F. Chalandon, Essai sur le regne de Alexius I^{er} Comnène (Paris, 1900), Chap. VI, p. 174.

c. Pierre and Pons de Fay of the house of Fay - Chaptueil: V et V. vol. II. Book XV. p. 290: they were the nephews of Heracle, vice-count of Polignac (ibid., p. 345) who was also killed on the crusade: vid. inf., p. 130 et n.a.

nobis offerretur, placuit iter, non iniuriam vindicta.
 Incepimus iter.¹ Habuimus obviam litteras imperatoris² de
 pace, de fraternitate, et ut ita dicam, de filiatione: haec
 autem verbotenus. Nam ante³ et retro, dextrorsum et
 sinistrorsum, Turci et⁴ Comani, Husi et Tanaces, Pincenati
 et Bulgari^a nobis insidiabantur.

⁵Quadam autem die cum⁶ essemus in valle Pelagoniae,^b
 episcopus Podiensis, gratia convenienter hospitandi,
 cum paulipser a castris discessisset, a Pincenatis

-
1. ... sed incepimus iter nostrum ... D and J.
 2. Habuimus litteras obviam imperatoris ... D and J.
 3. Nam et ante ... G.
 4. Om. et ... D and J.
 5. ... insidiabantur. II A - uadam ... F has a division here.
 Q - uadam ... D: J also has a division here. insidia-
 bantur. Quomodo Episcopus Podiensis fuit a Pincenatis
plagatus. Capitulo V^o ... E.
 6. dum ... G.

- - - - -

- a. Tribesmen employed by Alexius as mercenaries, and used to
 police the march of the Crusader armies across Imperial
 territory. Chalandon, op.cit., Chap. VI, pp. 173-174,
 defends their actions, but they do not always appear to
 have been well disciplined.
- b. Presumably a valley to the East of Durrasso, on the
Via Egnatia.

captus est, qui, deficientes eum de mula, spoliaverunt, et in capite graviter vulneraverunt.¹ Sed quia tantus Pontifex adhuc populo Dei erat necessarius, per eius misericordiam vitae est reservatus.² Nam unus Pincenatus³ dum aurum ab eo quæreretur, a caeteris eum defendebat. Interea sonus auditur⁴ in castris, et sic inter moram hostium et⁵ impetum sociorum eripitur. Taliter per insidias cum venissemus ad quoddam castrum quod vocatur Bucinath,⁶ a didicit comes quod in angustiis cuiusdam montis Pincenati exercitum nostrum aggredi vellent; cum⁷ militibus quibusdam in occultis remanens, Pincenatis occurrit, atque pluribus interfectis, ceteros in fugam vertit. Occurrebant interea litterae imperatoris pacificae:⁸ circumdabant nos undique

-
1. ... graviter perculserunt ... D and J. ... graviter eum perculserunt ... A, F and H.
 2. vitae reservatus est ... D and J.
 3. unus de Pincenatis ... D and J.
 4. sonus exit ... D and J.
 5. ... et sic moram inter hostes et ... G.
 6. Bucinath ... A. Bucinat ... D, F, H and J. Bucinath ... E.
 7. ; qui cum ... D and J.
 8. pacificae litterae Imperatoris ... D and J.

a. The Provençals arrived there in late February.

hostes¹ imperatoris dolis.²

³Post haec venimus ad quandam civitatem nomine Rossam,^a
ubi cum manifeste cives eius⁴ in nos multa mala
molirentur, paulip̄ser nostra solita⁵ patientia
Itaque arreptis armis, dirvuntur antemuralia, capitur
ingens praeda, et civitas in deditionem, atque illatis
signis⁶ in civitatem, et acclamata 'Tholosa', quod
erat signum clamoris comiti, discessimus.

⁷Venimus ad aliam civitatem, nomine Rodestol,^b ubi
cum milites de roga Imperatoris,
vindictam sui contra nos agere quacerent;⁸ multi
ex ipsis interfecti sunt, et aliquantula capta praeda.
Venerunt ibi nobis legati nostri, quos praemisieramus

1. Om. hostes ... D.

2. ... dolis. Cum vero venimus Thessalenicam, infirmatus est
Episcopus, et remansit cum paucis infra civitatem ...
D and J. For the importance of this variant, vid. sup.
Cap. II, p. CXLVII.

3. P - est ... D: J also has a division here.

4. eius cives ... D and J.

5. Om. solita ... G.

6. signum comitis clamoris ... D.

7. V - enimus ... D. J also has a division here.

8. Imperatoris pro vindicta sua contra nos agere vellent ...
D and J.

- - - - -

a. Roussa in Thrace: Runciman, op.cit., vol. I (The First
Crusade), Lib. III, Chap. 3, p. 162. They arrived there ca.
12 April 1097.

b. Rodosto in Thrace: ibid. They arrived there ca. 16th April.

ad imperatorem, qui, accepta pecunia ab eo, omnia nobis prospera¹ apud imperatorem promiserunt. Quid plura? eo verba legatorum imperatoris et nostrorum pervenerunt, ut comes, relicto exercitu, solus cum paucis, et inermis, ad imperatorem festinaret. Dicebant enim quia Boamundus et dux Lotharingiae et Flandrensis comes et alii principes hoc precabantur: ut properaret comes convenire² imperatorem in exercitu de itinere Iherosolimitano; ut assumpta cruce, dux et imperator in exercitu Dei fieret. Ad haec aiebant imperatorem dixisse, omnia cum comite se acturum, et de se et de aliis, quae itineri usui forent; praeterea nuntiabant bellum imminere, et, si auctoritas tanti viri abesset, fortassis incommodum fore. Itaque cum paucis comes adventaret,³ ut cum exercitus suus venisset, compositis cum imperatore omnibus, nullis in moram fieret. Victus tandem comes est, ut hac sola vice relicto praesidio in castris, exercitum praecederet, et sic Constantinopolim

1. qui accepta ab eo pecunia, omnia nobis prospera ... D and J.

2. venire ... G.

3. adventaret comes ... D and J.

inermis¹ venit.^a

²Facile autem res gesta, hacentus me scriptorem quibusdam³ laetitiae et prosperitatis gressibus comitabatur, quae tanto acerbioris et noeroris onere nunc premit, ut incepiisse me taedeat, cum perficere votum sit. Quid vero potissimum, et primum aggrediar dicere? An imperatoris fraudulentissimam ac detestabilem ammonitionis dolositatem? An exercitus nostri turpissimam fugam, et inopinabilem desperationem? An mortes tantorum principum enumerando, perpetui⁴ noeroris monumenta relinquam? Haec autem quicumque nosse desiderat, ab aliis potius quam a nobis requirat. Hoc unum valde memorabile, silentio dignum excusamus: quod cum omnes nostri castra relinquere, fugam arripere,⁵ deserere socios, dimittere omnia, quae de tam longinquis regionibus aspertaverant, meditarentur, per salutisferam poenitentiae atque ieiunii opem ad tantam constantiae fortitudinem sunt reducti, ut solus pudor prius habitae desperationis et fugae, vehementissime eos afficeret. Et de his hacentus dictum sit.

1. inermis Constantinopolim ... D and J.

2. F - acile ... D: J also has a division at this point.

3. Om. quibusdam ... D. ... cuiusdam laetitia ... G.

4. enumerando pro perpetui ... F.

5. arripere fugam ... D and J.

a. ca. 21st April, 1097.

[¹Honorificentissime itaque ab imperatore et principibus suis suscepto comite, postulat imperator a comite hominum et iuramenta, quae ceteri principes ei fecerant. Respondit comes, ideo se² non venisse, ut dominum alium faceret, aut alii militaret, nisi illi propter quem patriam et bona patriae suae dimiserat. Et tamen fore, si imperator cum exercitu iret Iherosolimam, quod se et suos³ et sua omnia illi committeret. Sed imperator excusat iter dicens praemetuere se⁴ Alemannos et Ungaros et Comanos, aliasque feras gentes, quae imperium suum depopularentur, si ipse transitum cum peregrinis faceret. ⁵Interea comes, audita morte suorum et fuga, se proditum esse credidit, et imperatorem⁶ per quosdam principes de nostro exercitu,⁷ factae proditiōis commonefacit. At Alexius dicit se nescisse nostros⁸ depopulatos esse regnum suum; se et suos multas passum esse iniurias.⁹

-
1. H - onorificentissime ... D: J also has a division here.
 2. se ideo ... A, D, F and H.
 3. se suosque ... D and J.
 4. se praemetuere ... D and J.
 5. I - nterea ... D
 6. imperatorem Alexium ... D and J.
 7. imperatorem per quosdam mandavit principes de nostro ... A.
 8. se nostros nescisse ... D and J.
 9. regnum suum et suos multas passes esse iniurias ... D and J.

Nihil esse quod comes quaerebatur, nisi quod dum exercitus comitis¹ solito more villas et castra vastaret, exercitu suo conspecto, fugam arripuerit; tamen pollicetur se satisfacturum comiti,² atque Beamundum obsidem satisfactionis dedit. Ad iudicium veniunt: cogitur comes, praeter ius, absolvere obsidem.³

³Interea exercitus noster Constantinopolim venit,⁴ et post haec episcopus consecutus est nos cum⁵ fratre suo,^a quem infirmum dimiserat Dirachii. Mandat et remandat Alexius pollicetur se multa daturum⁶ comiti, si quaesitum hominum sibi faceret, quod et alii principes fecerant.⁷ Meditabatur autem assidue comes,⁸ qualiter iniurias vindicaret, et tantae

1. Om. comitis ... A, C, P, G and H.

2. tamen se satisfacturum comiti ... D and J.

3. I - nterea ... D: J also has a division at this point.

4. velim ... F.

5. post haec consecutus est nos Episcopus cum ... D and J.

6. multa se daturum ... G, D, A, P and J.

7. sibi fecerant ... D and J.

8. comes assidue ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Presumably William-Hugo of Monteil, who is later named by Raymond of Aguilers as having also been on the Crusade: vid. inf., p. 272 et n.a.

infamiae dedecus a se suisque depelleret. Sed dux Lotharingiae, et Flandrensis comes, atque alii principes, huiusmodi detestabantur, dicentes: "Stultissimum esse contra Christianos pugnare, cum Turci imminerent." Boamundus vero se adiutorem ¹ imperatori pollicetur, si quicquam comes contra ipsum moliretur, vel si hominum et iuramenta diutius excusaret. Consilio itaque accepto a suis, comes Alexio vitam² et honorem iuravit, quod nec per se nec per alium³ ei auferret. Cumque de hominio appellaretur, respondit non se pro capitis sui periculo id facturum.⁴ Quapropter pauca largitus est ei Imperator.⁵]⁶

-
1. Boamundus se vero adiutorem ... G.
 2. comes Alexio comes vitam ... A.
 3. quod nec ipse nec per alium ... D and J.
 4. id facturum. Quapropter ... J has a division at this point.
 5. ei Alexius ... C, D and J.
 6. This passage in brackets [] appears to be derived from the Gesta Francorum: vid. inf. Appendix II, pp. CCXVII - CCXXI.

-
- a. For the special terms of this oath vide Hills, The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of St. Gilles, in The American Historical Review, vol. 58, 1953.

¹Itaque mare transivimus, et ad Nicaeam^a usque pervenimus. Praecesserant enim comitem dux et Boamundus, atque alii principes, et obsidioni operam dabant. Est itaque Nicaea urbs munitissima, tam natura quam ingenio. Habet² ab occidente lacum maximum, muris influentum; a reliquis tribus partibus vallum de restagnatione quorundam rivulorum plenum. Praeterea muris eminentibus ita cingitur,³ ut nullorum hominum assultus, nullius machinae impetus vereatur: balistaria vero vicinarum turrium, sic respicientia sunt ad invicem, ut sine periculo nullus accedere possit. Si quis autem proprius accedere voluerit, obesse cum nequeat, facile de altitudine turrium obruitur.⁴ Hanc igitur talem, ut diximus, civitatem,

1. I - taque ... D. ... ei Imperator. Quando exercitus venit Nicenam urbem: Capitulo VI^o et compositione facta cum imperatore Constantinopolitano ... E.

2. Habet enim ... D and J.

3. muris ita eminentibus cingitur ... A, C, D, F and J.

4. obruitur. IIII H - hance ... F.

- - - - -

a. Nicea had fallen to the Turks in 1079; (Runciman, op.cit., vol. I, The First Crusade) Lib. I, Chap. V, p. 69; it had become the capital of the Seljukid Sultanate of Rhum; ibid.

Boamundus obsedit a septentrione; dux et Alemanni ab oriente; comes et episcopus Podiensis a meridie.^a Nam Normanniae comes¹ nondum erat nobiscum. Sed hoc unum² reticendum non credimus, quia cum comes inibi cum suis hospitari vellet,³ Turci de montanis descendentes in duabus turmis,^b exercitus nostrum aggrediebantur: eo nimirum consilio, ut dum altera pars ducem et Alemannos impugnaret, qui ab oriente erant, pars altera Turcorum,⁴ per meridionalem civitatis portam⁵ ingrediens, ac per alteram portam exiens, nostros facile a castris propelleret, nil simile cogitantes.^c Sed qui

1. comes Normanniae ... A.

2. Unum hoc ... A.

3. vellet hospitari ... A. quia comes cum suis ibi hospitari ... D.

4. Turcarum ... J; in the Bongars edition the Turks are quite often mentioned in the feminine gender. This was probably a compositors error.

5. plagam ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. The Provençals in fact arrived on 16th May, 1097.

b. This was the army of Kilij Arslan I (1092-1107) Sultan of Iconium, (Rhum); Runciman, op.cit., vol. I (The First Crusade), p. 179.

c. Raymond is the only chronicler to give this account of a two-pronged Turkish attack. Runciman, (op.cit., loc.cit. et note 1) follows Anna Comnena, and believes that there were two attacks on separate days.

consilium impiorum subvertere solet Deus,¹ sic apparatus illorum exinanivit, ut veluti disposito, ingredienti iam fere civitatem Turcorum turmae, hospitari volentem comitem cum suis immisit, qui primo impetu eos in fugam vertit, atque pluribus interfectis reliquos insecutus est usque ad montis altitudinem. Pars altera Turcorum, quae Alemannos oppugnare voluit, exemplo simili fugatur et² prosternitur. Post hoc machinae extruuntur, atque murus impetitur, sed hoc erat frustra. Nam murus e contra, firmissimus erat et viriliter sagittis et machinis defendebatur. Sic pro nihilo hebdomadibus quinque pugnatum est. Tandem per Dei voluntatem quidam de familia episcopi et comitis,³ satis periculose ad angularem turrin, quae respicit ad austrum accedentes, post vim facta testudine, unam de turribus cavare cœperunt, et cavando ad terram prostraverunt. Itaque capta esset civitas, nisi noctis

-
1. impiorum solet Deus subvertere, sic ... G. Om. Deus ... D.
 2. atque ... D and J.
 3. de familia comitis et episcopi ... D and J.

tenebrae obstitissent. Instauratus est autem murus per¹
noctem, et laborem pristinum nobis mane reddidit.²
Attamen eo metu perterrita civitas,³ ad deditionem
sui coacta est. Accedebat eo quod imperatoriae naves,
per terram tractae, in lacum descenderant. His igitur
de causis cum iam ulterius succursum nullum sperarent,
et augeri exercitum Francorum cotidie cernerent,
diffisi viribus, Alexio se reddiderunt. Venerat comes
Normanniae.^a Promiserat Alexius⁴ principibus et genti
Francorum, quod totum aurum et argentum, et equos et
omnem suppellectilem, quae intus erat, eis redderet,
et monasterium Latinum et hospitium pauperibus Francorum
ibi faceret; praeterea tantum de propriis unicuique
de exercitu daret, ut illi semper militare velint.

-
1. murus ab eis per ... D and J.
 2. reddidit mane ... G.
 3. perterrita est civitas ... A.
 4. Promiserat comes Alexius ... G.

- - - - -

- a. On the 3rd June 1097. He had travelled with Stephen of Blois.

Haec igitur Franci sperantes verba fidelissima, deditionem laudaverunt. Alexius itaque accepta civitate, tantam gratiarum actionem exercitui dedit, ut quamdiu vixerit, populus semper ei maledicat¹ et proclamet eum proditorem.²

[³Cognovimus tunc quod Petrum Heremitam, qui longe ante exercitus nostros cum magna multitudine Constantinopolim venerat, quod⁴ imperator eum prodisset. Etenim et⁵ ipsum, qui ignarus locorum erat,⁶ et totius militiae, et suos transfretare coegit, atque Turcis exposuit. Turci autem de Nicaea, videntes illam imbellem multitudinem,⁷ sine labore et mora, ex eis decollaverunt usque ad sexaginta millia. Reliqui vero ad munitionem quandam confugientes, gladios⁸ Turcorum evaserunt. Quapropter Turci audaces et superbi effecti, arma quae ibi ceperant, et captivos ad nobiles suae gentis et Sarracenorum, longe ea mittebant, scribentes ad populos, et ad civitates longinquas nihil valere Francos in bello.]⁹

1. ut quamdiu populus vixerat, semper ei maledicat ... A. populus ei semper maledicat ... G.

2. et proclamet proditorem eum ... J. et preditorem eum clamet ... D.

3. C - ognovimus ... D: J also has a division here.

4. Om. D and J.

5. Etenim ipsum ... A, C, D and J.

6. erat locorum et ... G.

7. illam imbellem multitudinem videntes ... D and J.

8. et gladios ... C.

9. This passage appears to be based on the account in the Gesta Francorum; vid. inf., Appendix. II, pp. CCXXXI - CCXXXII.

¹Profecti igitur a Nicaea civitate² in Romaniam,^a
 secunda die temere Boamundus cum quibusdam principibus,^b
 a comite et episcopo et³ duce⁴ digressus est.⁵ Cumque
 in die tertia digressionis suae tentoria disponeret
 figere, centum quinquaginta millia Turcorum in pugnam
 adventare conspiciunt. Dumque ordines pro
 tempore instruit et bellum disponit, plures qui
 sequebantur de exercitu suo perdidit. Inter

1. P - rofecti ... D.

2. igitur civitate Nicea ... A.

3. ac ... D and J.

4. ... et duce. Bellum quod fuit in Campo Florido ubi
 mirabiliter gens nefanda, per virtute Dei, cecruit.
 Capitula Septime. C - unique ... E.

5. digressus est. V (in margin in both cases) ... F and H.

 a. i.e. Asia Minor.

b. With Bohemond went Robert of Normandy and Tancred. Apart
 from those mentioned by Raymond of Aguilers, Robert of
 Flanders and Hugh of Vermandois also travelled with the
 second party: Gesta Francorum, (ed. Hill), Lib. III, ix,
 p. 18.

c. July 1st, 1097.

haec comiti et duci mandavit, ut sibi succurrerent:
 aberant enim per duo millaria. Ut¹ autem nuntius
 Boamundi in castra venit, certatim omnes, equos et
 arma arripiunt, atque hostibus² obviam ire contendunt.
 Ut autem cognovit Solimannus³ et qui cum eo erant,
 exercitum nostrum contra³ suum in pugnam⁴ concurrere,
 de victoria desperans fugere compulsus est. Et qui
 captivos et tentoria plurima de castris Boamundi
 acceperat, per Dei virtutem sua reliquit. Fertur quoddam⁵

1. Uti ... D and J.

2. Om. hostibus ... D and J.

3. ... exercitum nostrum, id est episcopi, ducis et comitis,
 contra ... D and J: This appears to be one of the expla-
 natory insertions found in the manuscript of the *en*
 tradition: vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II,
 p. CLV.

4. contra suam pugnam ... D.

5. Fertur enim quoddam ... A.

 a. The Sultan of Rhum, Kilij Arslan I (1092-1107) who, being
 called Ibn-Sulaiman after his father Sulaiman, was known
 to the Crusaders as Solimannus: Setten and Baldwin, op.cit.
 vol. I, Chap. V, The Turkish Invasions: The Selchûkide,
 C. Cahen, p. 163.

insigne miraculum, sed nos non vidimus: quod duo equites armis coruscis, et mirabili facie, exercitum nostrum praecedentes, sic hostibus imminebant, ut nullo modo facultatem pugnandi¹ eis concederent; at vero cum Turci² referire eos lanceis vellent, insauciabiles eis apparebant. Haec autem quae dicimus, ab illis qui eorum consortium spernentes nobis³ adhaeserunt, didicimus. Quod pro⁴ testimonio adducimus, tale est. Per⁵ primam et alteram diem, iuxta viam equos eorum mortuos cum dominis⁶ ipsis reperimus.

⁷Itaque devictis et profligatis Turcis, pacifice at alacriter per Romaniam usque Antiochiam⁸ venimus. Sed comes aliquantulum exercitum retardavit,

-
1. facultatem eis pugnandi ... G.
 2. vero Turci cum referire ... D and J.
 3. spernentes et nobis ... E, F, G and H.
 4. Quod vero pro ... D and J.
 5. Post primam ... A, D and J.
 6. diem, per totam viam equos inimicorum mortuos cum ... D and J. cum dominis suis ... D.
 7. I - taque ... D: J also has a division here.
 8. usque ad Antiochiam ... F and H.

causa infirmitatis suae. Quod si incredulis ingratum fore satis cognovimus,¹ tamen quod divina clementia operatur, reticere non debemus.² Erat quidam comes in nostro exercitu de Saxonia,^{a 3} qui ad comitem Raymundum venit, et legatum se Sancti Aegidii^b asserebat, et semel et secundo⁴ se admonitum, ut diceret comiti, aiebat: "Esto securus, non morieris de hac infirmitate; ego tibi inducias a Deo impetravi;⁵ ego semper

1. ingratum fere cognovimus ... D.

2. debetur ... F.

3. Erat quidam comes de Saxonia in nostro exercitu ... D and J.

4. se~~mel~~ secundoque ... D and J.

5. ego tibi etc. ... Om. D.

a. Nothing is known at all of this Saxon count.

b. Raymond of Toulouse was widely known by the title Raymond of St. Gilles. It would appear that at an early age Raymond was granted the land about the village of St. Gilles, upon which the monastery dedicated to the saint stood. (Hills L. et J., Raymond IV de St. Gilles, Chap. I, p. 6). St. Gilles stood on one of the great pilgrim routes to Compostella, (vid. sup., Chap. I, p. XI) and it would seem that because of this his cult spread throughout Europe.

tecum ero". Et licet satis haec comes crederet;¹
 tamen ita ea infirmitate affectus fuit, ut depositus
 de lecto in terram, vix etiam² vitalem pulsum haberet.
 Unde episcopus Aurasicae urbis,³ officium ei quasi
 pro³ defuncto impenderet;⁴ sed divina clementia
 quae eum ducem praefecerat⁵ exercitus sui, de
 morte eum illico relevavit, et sospitali reddidit.

1. Et licet hoc comes satis crederet ... D.

2. iam ... A.

3. Om. pro ... D and J.

4. impendit ... D and J.

5. perfecerat ... J.

a. Guillelmus, Bishop of Orange (post 1073-December 1098):
 P.E. Gams, op.cit., p. 592. He was later to try and
 replace Adhémar as head of the clergy on the Crusade,
 after the latter's death on 1st August 1098: vid. inf.,
 p. 351 et n.a. - 352. William of Tyre refers to him
 as having been at the Council of Clermont: William of
 Tyre, op.cit., in R.H.C.(Ogg.) Vol. I, Lib. I, Cap. XVI,
 p. 46.

¹Igitur cum Antiochiam appropinquavimus, non erat consilium multorum principum ut eam obsideremus, praesertim cum hyems immineret, et exercitus tunc diffusus per castella, et imminutus aestivo tempore fuerat. Imperatoris etiam vires oportere expectari dicebant, et exercitum de Francia, qui venire nuntiabatur, sicque hyemare usque in verno praecipiebant.² At alii de principibus in quibus erat comes, dicebant: "Per Dei inspirationem nos venisse; per ipsius misericordiam nos Niceam, munitissimam³ urbem, obtinuisse atque per eiusdem clementiam, victoriam et securitatem de Turcis habuisse; pacem et concordiam in exercitu nostro fuisse; atque ideo ipsi⁴ de nobis committendum esse. Non oportere vereri reges aut regum principes; nec formidare loca vel⁵ tempora, cum Dominus de tan pluribus periculis nos eripuisset."

1. I - gitur ... D.

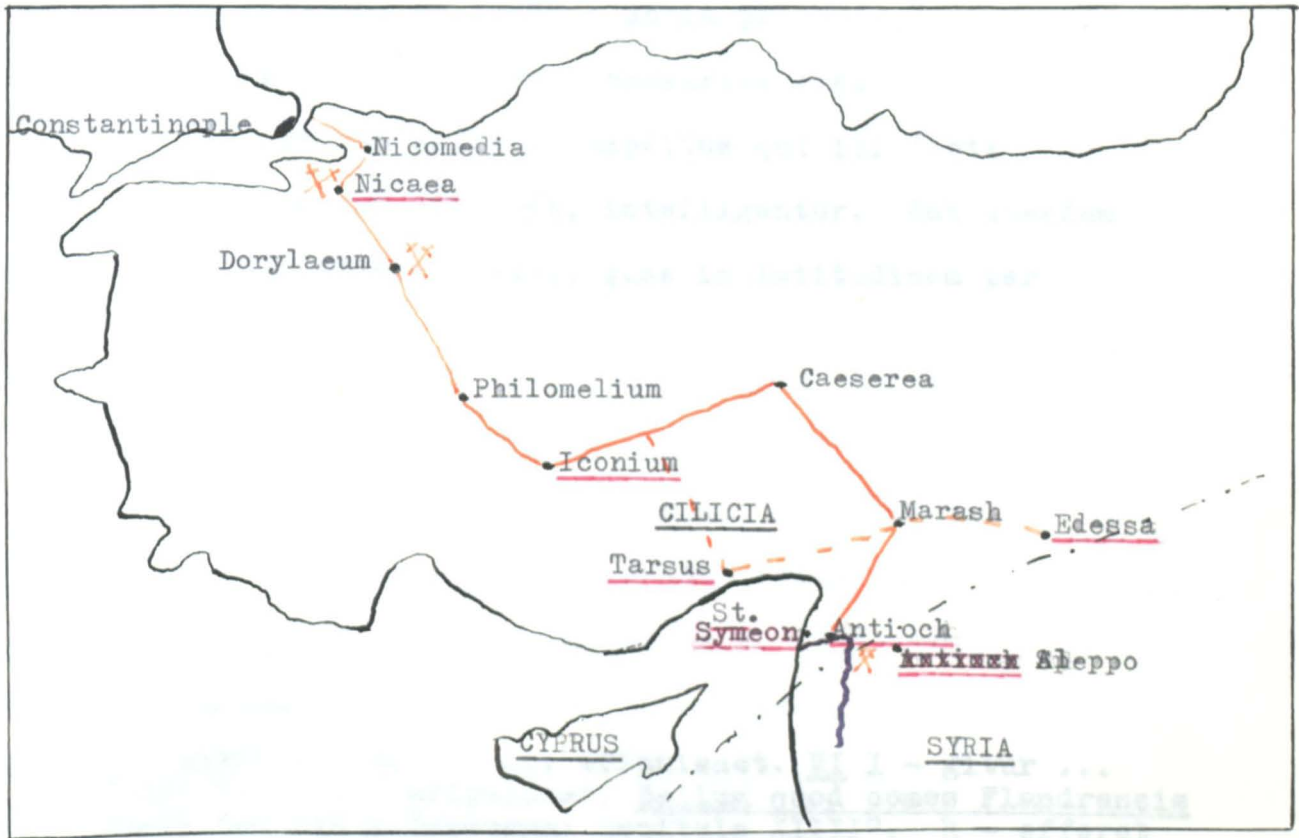
2. in verno tempore praecipiebant ... A.

3. per ipsius nos misericordiam nos Niceam urbem munitissimam ... P.

4. sibi ... H.

5. loca et tempore ... D and J.

THE FIRST CRUSADE : CONSTANTINOPLE TO ANTIOCH



Route of the Main Crusader Army: —————

Route of secondary expeditions : - - - - -

Field Battles : X

Cities etc besieged or captured by the Crusaders : Antioch

Boundary of the Byzantine Empire in 1060 : - . - . - . -

¹Igitur ad² Antiochiam venimus,^a atque iuxta castra posuimus, adeo ut frequenter de turribus hostes, et homines et equos nostros in tentoriis vulnerarent. Quoniam³ de Antiocha se occasio nobis prae-buit,⁴ de situ eiusdem loci⁵ dicere necessarium esse videtur, ut facilius bella et assultus qui ibi facti sunt, ab his qui non viderunt, intelligantur. Est quaedam planities inter montes Libani, quae in latitudinem per

1. I - gitur ... D. ... eripuisset. VI I - gitur ... F and H. ... eripuisset. Bellum quod comes Flandrensis fecit cum XII a. Turcorum: Capitulo XIII^o. R - efferet Raymundus in suo libro in hunc modum quando apud Antiochiam venimus atque iuxta ... E.

2. Om...G.

3. Et quoniam ... D and J.

4. se occasio prae-buit ... D.

5. Om. loci ... F, G and H.

- - - - -

a. On 21st ~~1095~~ October 1097.

per diem unum tenet viatorem, et in longitudinem diem et dimidium.¹ Haec autem planities habet ab occidente paludem quamdam; ab oriente fluvium qui quamdam partem eiusdem planitiei cingens ad pedes montium, quos illa terra habet a meridie,² ita recurrit, ut inter montes et fluvium transitus nullus sit, et sic mari Mediterraneo, quod Antiochiae proximum est, influit. In angustiis autem illis quas fluvius iam adhaerens supradictis montibus facit, Antiochia sita est ut ab occidente fluvius, inferiori muro influens, quamdam in modum sagittae partem terrae, inter se et ipsam civitatem relinquit. Hoc modo ab oriente urbs sita, surgit in orientem, atque suo ambitu, trium montium iuga complectitur. Ille vero mons quem a septentrione habet, quodam maximo praerupto ab aliis dividitur, ut ab illo ad alios³ nullus vel difficillimus accessus habeatur. In colle autem septentrionali, castellum quoddam est,

-
1. et dimidium diem in longitudinem ... C, E and G.
 2. quas in latere habet a meridie ... D and J.
 3. ab illo ad illos ... D.

et in medio colle¹ castellum aliud, quod lingua Graeca
Colax^a vocatur. In tertio colle, tantum turres. Tenet
autem haec² civitas duo milliaria in longitudine, muris
et turribus, et antemurabilis ita munita, ut nullius
machinae impetus, nullius hominum assultus, etiam si
omne genus³ hominum conveniat, vereatur. Hanc igitur
ut diximus talem,⁴ tam⁵ munitissimam civitatem, exercitus
Francorum a septentrionali parte⁶ obsedit. Neque tamen
licet centum millia armatorum⁷ in exercitu essent,

-
1. collis ... D and J.
 2. Om. haec ... A, D and J.
 3. et genus omne ... D and J. etiam si genus omne ... A.
 4. talem ut diximus ... C.
 5. Om. tam... H.
 6. Om. parte ... D and J.
 7. licet tercentum vel trecenta millia armatorum ... D and J.
- - - - -
- a. The citadel of Antioch.

aliquem assultum ibi fecerunt, nisi quod iuxta, castra sua posuerunt.

¹Erant praeterea in civitate duo millia optimi milites, et quatuor vel quinque millia militum gregariorum, atque decem millia peditum et eo amplius.² Muri vero ita eminentes, et vallo et paludibus muniebantur, ut portae custodirentur, cetera~~ae~~ secura manerent.

³Igitur, ut venimus in principio, ita temere castra posuimus, ut si praecogniti ab eis essemus, aliqua pars castrorum ab hostibus corripere potuisset, cum in exercitu nostro nec vigiliae, nec modus hospitandi unquam servatus sit.⁴ Accedebat etiam quod omnia castella eiusdem regionis⁵ et finitimae civitates se nostris reddiderunt, tum timore nostri exercitus, tum amore fugiendae Turcorum servitutis. Quae res multum milites nostros dispersit.⁶

1. E - rant ... D.

2. et amplius ... D, F and H.

3. I - gitur ... D.

4. A. - ccedebat ... D.

5. regionis eiusdem ... D and J.

6. Quae res exercitum nostrum multum dispersit ... J.
Quae res multum exercitum nostrum dispersit ... D.

'volebat enim quisque privatam rem maximam facere; de publica vero nihil cogitabat'.¹

²Interea hi qui in castris remanserant, tantam copiam victualium habuerunt, ut de bubus nil praeter femora, et armos et rarissimi pectus levare vellent; de annona vero et vino, non est dicendum quam levissime acciperetur.³ Cumque haec in castris aguntur, hostes primo ita sese occultabant⁴ infra moenia, ut nullus, nisi vigiles, in muris cerneretur. Dum autem didicissent,⁵ quod palam et inermes nostri villas et agros vastarent; nescio vel de Antiochia hostes

-
1. volebat etc... This passage sounds rather like a remembered Latin tag, 'Mens sana etc.'; but I have been unable to trace it. The same sentiment occurs in a slightly altered form later: vid. inf., p. 70 et n.a.
 2. I - nterea ... D.
 3. C - umque ... D. Cumque ... J, C and F.
 4. hostes primo sese ita occultabant ... A. hostes sese primo ita occultabant ... D and J.
 5. Dum haec ita didicissent ... D and J.

emissi, vel de alia civitate quae per duos dies
 aberat,¹ nomine Oaleph² venientes, nostros interficere
 coeperunt, quos palam euntes² et inermes reperiabant.
 Quae res aliquantulum copiam in castris nostris
 imminuerat. Illi vero hostes, facultate caedis et
 rapinae, multo acrius vias obsidebant.

³Ut autem haec in castris manifeste comperta
 sunt, electus est Boamundus, ut iret obviam illis.⁴
 Profecti sunt autem cum illo comites Flandrensis
 et Normanniae: neque secum plusquam centum quinquaginta milites educere potuerunt, et nisi pudor

1. per dies uos aberat ... J. per dies nostris duos
 aberat ... D.

2. quos palantes et ... H.

3. U - t ... D.

4. obvius illis ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. The Gesta Francorum (ed. Hill) calls this Aregh: Lib. IV, xii, p. 29. Runciman calls it Harenc and says that it stood guarding the Iron Bridge, just to the east of Antioch, on the road to Aleppo: Runciman, op.cit., vol. I, Lib. IV, Chap. III, pp. 218-219.

revertendi obstitisset, pro paucitate militum reverterentur. Itaque perurgente Deo profecti, hostes reperiunt, et persequuntur, atque necari in flumine cogunt. Sic potita¹ victoria, et spoliis, cum ingenti exultatione ad castra redeunt.

²Interea Genuensium naves littori, quod per decem milliaria aberat a castris, applicuerunt.^a Vocatur autem locus ille 'Portus Sancti Simeonis'.³ Iam que paulatim⁴ hostes de civitate egredientes, armigereos vel rusticos, qui equos vel boves pascebant ultra fluvium, interficiunt, atque praedam infra civitatem deducunt. Posueramus enim tentoria iuxta fluvium et pontem de navibus ibi repertis feceramus. Habebat autem et civitas pontem quasi inferiori⁵ angulo

1. potiti, ... J.

2. I - nterea ... D: J also has a chapter division at this point.

3. Symeonis ... C, F and H.

4. Iam paucitatem ... G.

5. quasi in inferiori ... C, D and J.

- - - - -

a. ca. 17th November, 1097.

occidentali, et monticulum quemdam adversum nos, ubi duae erant Bafumariae¹ et quaedam sepulcrorum casalia. Haec autem ideo diximus, ut facile manifesta sint, quae ibi facta narrabuntur. Sicut diximus cum paulatim² hostium audacia aliquatenus crevisset, nostri audacter de castris egredientes, licet hostibus frequenter pauciores, tamen illis incurrere non metuebant. Turci licet frequenter fusi atque³ fugati, in bellum illico resurgebant: tunc⁴ quia velocissimos equos habebant, et expediti, nec graves armis aliis⁵ quam sagittis; tunc⁶ quia in ponte quem diximus, spes refugiendi illorum erat, et de monticulo facultatem sagittandi eminus prospiciebant. Aberat enim pons illorum a nostro ponte quasi per unum milliarium. In planitie autem, quae inter utrosque pontes fuerat, assidue assultus, cotidie pugna erat.

1. ubi erant duae Bafumariae ... H.

2. diximus paulatim ... H.

3. et ... J.

4. tum ... D and J.

5. aliis armis ... D and J.

6. tum ... D and J.

¹Contigit vero in principio obsidionis ut comes et episcopus Podiensis, iuxta fluvium castra ponerent, et ideo hostibus viciniore frequentissime ab eis impetebantur. Sic et factum est per² assultus huiusmodi, ut equos suos omnes deperderent,³ quoniam Turci non lanceis vel gladiis bellum conferre parati, sed sagittis eminus; iuxta metuendi, dum fugiunt et dum insequuntur. Cumque iam in tertio mense obsidionis carius alimoniae mercarentur, electus est Boamundus et Flandrensis comes ut exercitum propter victualia in Hispaniam⁴ ^a ducerent, comite et episcopo Podiensi praeside relicto in castris. Nam Normanniae comes eo tempore aberat, et dux maxime infirmabatur. Hoc⁵ autem cum hostes comperissent, solitos incepere assultus. Cogitur autem comes, solito more eis

1. C - ontigit ... D.

2. Sicque factum est per ... D and J. ... sic et factum vero per ... C.

3. perderent ... F.

4. Hyspania ... C and A. Haspaniam ... H. Yspaniam ... E.

5. Haec ... F and H.

- - - - -

a. For a suggested explication of this term vid. sup., Chap. I, p. XXXIX, n.1.

incurrere; atque compositis ordinibus peditum, ipse cum aliquantulis militibus assultatores persequutus est, atque duos ex ipsis in descensu monticuli cepit, et occidit et hostes ingredi omnes per pontem coegit. Quod ut pedites nostri viderunt, remissis stationibus suis et relictis signis, usque ad pontem illorum permixti concurrerunt. Cumque iam ibi quasi secari facti, et lapides et tela in eos qui pontem defendabant, conciderent, Turci, facto agmine,¹ per pontem et per vadum quod inferius erat, contra nostros² currere coeperunt.

³Interea milites nostri equum quendam, unde dominum suum delecerant, versus pontem nostrum assequebantur.⁴ Quae populus noster videns, fugam militum arbitratus ad incursus⁵ hostium, sine mora terga praebuit:⁶ Turci vero incessanter fugientes interficiunt. Si qui milites⁷ Francorum resistere

1. Turci autem facto agmine ... A.

2. contra omnes ... D.

3. I - nterea ... D: J also has a division at this point.

4. insequabantur ... D and J.

5. arbitratus in accursus ... D.

6. sine mora hostibus terga praebuit ... D and J.

7. Cumque milites ... D and J.

et propugnare suis¹ vellent, a multitudine peditum fugientium apprehensi, per arma et per iubas, et caudas equorum, vel ab equis deliciebantur; vel pro misericordia et salute suorum, in fugam ferebantur. Hostes vero sine mora, sine misericordia caedere persequi et spoliare mortuorum cadavera.² Nostris³ autem non satis erant relinquere arma, arripere fugam, contemnere pudorem, se in fluvium immergebantur, obruituri lapidibus vel sagittis hostium, vel sub aene remansuri. Si quem vero peritia⁴ et vis natandi ultra fluvium evexit, hic ad sociorum castra⁵ pervenit. Tenuit autem nostra fuga a ponte illorum usque ad nostrum pontem.⁶ Ceciderunt ibi usque ad quindecim milites nostri, pedites vero circiter viginti. Interfectus est ibi vexillifer episcopi, et captum est vexillum

1. pugnare pro suis ... D and J.

2. caedem persequi et spoliare mortuorum ceperunt cadavera ... D and J, C.

3. N - ostris ... D.

4. Om. vero ... D and J.

5. ad castra sociorum ... G.

6. ad pontem nostrum.

eius. Interiit ibi quidam iuuenis nobilissimus¹
 Bernardus Raymundus, patria Bitterensis.^a ² Non
 causentur neque irascantur in nos, servi Dei,
 si tam apertum³ pudorem nostri exercitus memoriae
 mandamus, quoniam Deus qui hoc modo flagitiorum,
 adulterii et rapinae, mentes ad poenitentiam concuti
 voluit, exercitum nostrum in Hispaniis eodem
 tempore laetificavit. Rumor enim de castris nostris
 egrediens, prospera omnia, atque comitem nobilissima
 potitum victoria, Boamundo et sociis eius nuntiavit.

1. quidam nobilissimus iuuenis ... A, F, H and J. quidam
 nobilissimus Barnardus ... D.

2. patria Bitensis. H - on ... D.

3. tam aperte ... J.

- - - - -

a. Bernard - Raymond of Montpeyroux in the Diocese of
 Beziers (patria Bitterensis or Bitensis). V and V,
 vol. II, Book IV, p. 290.

¹Haec autem fama non mediocriter animos eorum
 erexit. Etenim cum Boamundus² villam quandam expugnasset,³
 subito fugere et clamare quosdam rusticos de suis
 audivit. Cumque obviam illis milites misisset,
 Turcorum et Arabum exercitum cominus inspexerunt.⁴
 Erat inter eos qui profecti fuerant ad prospiciendum
 fugae et clamoris causas, Flandrensis comes et cum
 eo quidam Provinciales: namque omnes de Burgundia
 et Alvernia et Gasconia⁴ et Gothi⁵ Provinciales

1. H - nec ... D.

2. Etenim Boimundus cum ... D and J.

3. expugnaret ... J.

4. Vasconia ... J.

5. de Burgundia et Alemannia et Gasconia et Gothi ... A and F.

Aquitania

de Burgundia et Alemannia et Gasconia et Gotti ... H.
 de Burgundia et Alemannia et Arvernia et Gasconia et
 Gothi ... E. For the importance of this variant, vid.
 sup. Chap. II, Section II, pp. CLXXVI-CLXXVII and CLXXV.

a. This was the army of Dukak, Emir of Damascus (1095-1104); Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., vol. I, Chap. X, The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon; Runciman, pp. 311 et 666. The Governor of Antioch had sent his son, Shams-ad-Daulah to Dukak for help; ibid, p. 309. The Damascene army encountered the Franks on 31st December 1097.

appellantur; ceteri vero Francigenae, et haec in exercitu. Inter hostes autem omnes Francigenae dicebantur.¹ Hic autem Flandrensis comes, ut diximus,² pudorem arbitratus, prius de hostibus referre, quam eis incurrere, irrevocabilis in Turcorum cuneos ruit. Turci vero insoliti agere bellum gladiis, fugam pro refugio arripuerunt. Nec prius comes gladium recondit, quam centum de hostibus a vita subduxit.

³Cumque iam victor ad Boamundum reverteretur, duodecim millia Turcorum post se venire conspexit, atque in⁴ colle qui proximus erat a sinistris, innumerabilem peditum multitudinem vidit surgere.⁵ Tunc communicato consilio cum reliquis de exercitu, rursus assumptis pluribus, viriliter hostes aggressus est. Boamundus vero eminus sequebatur eum reliquis et agmina posteriora custodiebat. Etenim id moris

1. autem Franci dicebantur ... D and J.

2. Hic autem ut diximus comes Flandrensis ... C.

3. subduxit. VII. C - unique ... P and H.

4. a colle ... D and J.

5. sugere vidit ... A, F, H, D and J.

pugnandi apud Turcos est, ut licet pauciores sint, tamen nitantur semper hostes cingere suos,¹ quod etiam² in hoc bello facere conati sunt:³ sed prudentia Boamundi, hostium insidias praeventae sunt. Turci vero et Arabes qui contra comitem Flandrensem⁴ veniebant, ut videre⁵ quod non iam⁶ sagittis eminus, sed cominus gladiis res gerenda foret, in fugam versi sunt. Persequutusque⁷ est eos⁸ comes per duo millia, atque ut in agros manipulos messis, sic in hoc spatio caesorum⁹ corpora resupina¹⁰ iacere videres. Hostium vero

-
1. tamen semper nitantur hostes cingere suos ... A, F and H. sint, semper nitantur cingere suos ... D and J.
 2. et ... A.
 3. bello conati sunt facere ... G.
 4. Flandrensem comitem ... A, D, F, H and J.
 5. ut vidunt ... G.
 6. Om. iam ... C and E.
 7. Om. que ... G.
 8. Om. eos ... C. Prosecutus est ... J.
 9. hoc agre spatio ... D and J.
 10. in hoc spatio refiret corpora resupina ... E.

insidiae quas Boamundus sustinuerat, simili modo
 fusae fugataeque sunt. Innumerabilis vero turba
 peditum, quam supra diximus,^a per loca equis invia,
 fuga lapsa est.¹ Auderem, inquam, nisi arrogans
 iudicarer, bellum hoc Machabaeorum bellis
 praeferre. Quoniam, si Machabaeus^b in tribus millibus
 hostium quadraginta et² octo millia prostravit,³
 hic plusquam sexaginta millia hostium, epe
 quadringentorum⁴ militum in fugam⁵ versa sunt.
 Sed nos, neque Machabaeorum contemnimus, nec virtutem
 militum nostrorum praedicamus; sed Deum tunc

1. A - uderem ... D.

2. vel ... C.

3. et VIII prostravit millia ... C.

4. CCC militum ... C.

5. XLVIII to milia hostium opere CCCC militum in fugam
 ... E.

 a. vid. sup. p. 43.

b. II Machabees, Chap. VIII et seq.

in Machabaeo mirabilem, in nostris mirabiliorem annuntiamus.¹

²Operae pretium est profugatis inimicis
nostrorum³ audaciam crevisse,⁴ ne auderent persequi
quos praecipitare aspiciebant. Igitur regresso exercitu
victore et vacuo, tanta fames in castris fuit, ut
vix duo solidi homini sufficerent in pane per diem:⁵
nec cetera minus care accipiebantur.⁶ Cooperunt
itaque discedere pauperes, et multi divites pauper tatem
verentes. Si qui amore virtutis in castris remanebant,
equos suos diurna contabescere fame patiebantur.
Quippe nec paleae abundabant, et annona tam cara
erat ut septem vel octo solidi equo non sufficerent
per noctem.⁷ Accedebat⁸ etiam et alia exercitui

-
1. Sed tunc Machabeum mirabilem in nostris mirabiliorem
... A, F and H. Sed tunc Machabeum mirabilem in nostris
nunc mirabiliorem ... C and G.
 2. O - perae ... D.
 3. prefligatis inimicis nostris ... A, C, D, E, G and J.
 4. deorivisse ... D and J.
 5. sufficerent per diem in pane ... C. homini in pane per
diem sufficerent ... H.
 6. C - operunt ... D.
 7. solidi, non sufficerent equo per noctem ... D and J.
 8. A - ccedebat ... D.

calamitas, quod Boamundus, qui clarissimus factus fuerat in Hispania, discessurum se aiebat; eo quod propter honorem venerit, et homines et equos suos inopia¹ deperire conspiceret; nec esse divitem se dicebat,² cui ad tam longam obsidionem³ rei familiaris opes sufficerent. Quae postea comperimus eum ob hoc dixisse, quod ambitione praeceps civitati Antiochiae inhiabat.

⁴Interea terrae motus factus est magnus in III kalendas Ianuarii,^a et signum in coelo satis mirabile vidimus. Namque in prima vigilia noctis, ita coelum rubicundum a septentrione fuit, ut quasi suborta aurora diem deferre videretur. Et licet hoc modo exercitum suum Deus⁵ flagellaverit,⁶ ut lumini quod in tenebris oriebatur intenderemus,

1. Om. inopia ... D and J.

2. esse se divitem dicebat ... D and J.

3. cui ad tam obsidionem longam ... C.

4. I - nterea ... D: J also has a division at this point.

5. hoc modo exercitum Deus suum ... C.

6. flagellaret ... A, B, F, H and J.

- - - - -

a. On 30th December, 1097: it was on this day that Peter Bartholomew had his first vision of St. Andrew and the Holy Lance: vid. inf., p. 90, n.d.b.

tamen ita quorundam mentes caecae et¹ praecipites²
 erant, ut neque a luxuria vel rapina revocarentur.
³Praedicavit eo tempore episcopus triduanum
 ieiunium, et cum processione, orationes et
 eleemosynas ad populum, ad presbyteros autem mandavit
 ut vacarent missis et orationibus et clerici
 psalmis. Recordatus itaque⁴ pius dominus misericordiae
 suae, filiorum vindictam distulit, ne adversariorum
 superbia cresceret.⁵ Erat praeterea in nostro exercitu
 quidam de familia imperatoris, quem pro se Alexius
 nobis tradiderat, nomine Tatic,⁶ a narius

1. tamen quorundam mentes ita caecae ... D and J.

2. et in praecipites ... A and C.

3. P - raedicavit ... D.

4. Recordatus que est pius ... A.

5. E - rat ... D.

6. Tatic nomine ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. The Byzantine General whom Alexius had appointed as Imperial representative on the Crusade: Anna Comnena, Alexiade (ed. and trans. B. Leib), Lib.XI, 3, p. 17.

truncus et omni virtute. Huius ego pene oblitus
 fueram, quia oblivioni tradendus in perpetuum
 fuerat.¹ Hic autem cotidie auribus principum
 instillabat, ut discederent ad castra finitima,
 atque inde frequenti assultatione et² insidiis
 Antiochitas³ propulsarent. Haec autem omnia ut
 comiti manifeste comperta sunt (aeger enim
 fuerat, ex die quo fugere apud pontem compulsus
 est) principes suos et PEDIENSEM episcopum
 in unum vocat,⁴ atque habito consilio, quingentas
 marchas argenti illis largitur, ea nimirum
 conditione, ut, si quis militum suorum equum
 deperderet,⁵ de illis quingentis marchis illi
 restauraretur, ac de aliis quae fraternitati
 concessa sunt. Haec autem conditione confraternitatis,⁶

-
1. quia oblivioni in perpetuum tradendus fuerat ... G.
 quia oblivioni perpetuae tradendus fuerat ... D and J.
 2. Om. et ... C.
 3. Antiochiam ... A, E, D and J.
 4. convocat ... A.
 5. militum suorum equum suum deperderet ... D and J.
 6. conditio cum fraternitatis ... D.

multum illo tempore profuit:¹ quoniam² pauperes de nostro exercitu, qui pro colligendis herbis ultra fluvium transire volebant, frequentem hostium assultationem metuebant. Quoniam³ rarissime aliqui obviam hostibus ire volebat, cum equi famelici et debiles essent, atque admodum pauci, ut in toto exercitu comitis et episcopi vix centum reperirentur. Similiter Boamundo et reliquis contigerat. Hanc igitur ob causam⁴ milites nostri, hostibus occurrere non formidabant, praesertim hi qui viles vel⁵ debiles equos habebant, cum scirent se, perditis suis, meliores principes, praeter comitem, Boamundo civitatem⁷ dum caperetur, pepigerunt.⁸ Hac itaque pactione

1. multum illo profuit tempore ... G.

2. quam ... D.

3. metuebant et quoniam ... J. et quam ... D.

4. ab hanc causam ... C.

5. et ... G.

6. A - cessit ... D.

7. Boimundo dum civitatem ... D.

8. For a discussion of the importance of this odd word, vid. sup. Chap. II, Section II, pp. CLXI-CLXII.

Boamundus et reliqui principes iuraverunt, se ab oppugnatione Antiochiae non discessuros per septem annos, nisi civitas caperetur.¹ Dum haec in castris aguntur, rumor etiam exercitum imperatoris venire nuntiavit, qui de multis gentibus collectus² esse nuntiabatur exercitus:³ uti sunt Selavi et Pincenati, et Comani et Turcopoli. Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre christiana patre Turco procreantur. Hae autem gentes, quia nobis in itinere nocuerant,⁴ se praemetuere consortium nostrum fatebantur. Haec autem omnia Tatio, ille truneus, composuerat, qui, ut discedere⁵ posset talia

1. caperetur. There is a division here in J.

2. collectis gentibus ... C.

3. nuntiabatur ex exercitus ... C.

4. ut ... D and J.

5. ut qui discedere ... C.

- - - - -

a. Most of the armies had suffered from their Imperial escorts on the way to Constantinople, especially the Provençals: vid. sup. 15.

commentabatur. Hic non solum commentis, verum etiam
 maximis impendiis, prodicione sociorum¹ et
 periurio cumulatis, per fugam lapsus est. Concessit
 enim Boamundo duas vel tres civitates,² Tursol,
 Mamistram et³ Addenam^a... Taliter igitur mercatus sibi
 et suis⁴ perpetuum pudorem, simulato itinere quasi
 ad exercitum imperatoris, dimissis tentoriis et
 familiaribus suis, cum Dei maledictione profectus
 est.

1. suorum ... G.

2. duas nescio aut tres civitates ... D and J.

3. Om. et ... F and H.

4. Taliter igitur sibi et suis mercatus.

- - - - -

a. These were all cities of Cilicia. Raymond of Aguilers
 at no point mentions the expedition of Baldwin and
 Tancred (ca. 14th Septemner-mid-October 1097) which
 captured them. For a full description vid. Gesta (ed.
 Hill), Lib. IV, x, pp. 24-25.

Bellum unum per maximum quod fuit
inter paludem et fluvium.¹

²Nuntiatum est nobis eo tempore^a quod

-
1. On ... D. Bellum unum per maximum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium sequitur. N - unciatum: inserted marginally in G. Incipit bellum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium. N - untiatum: obliterated in red: vid. sup. Chap. II, Section I, General Description of the Manuscripts, p. CIII ... A. Bellum unum prae maximum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium: in margin of Bongars edition, p. 146 ... J. Aliud bellum quod fuit inter paludem et fluvium in quo bello non habuit plus de nostris quam VIIC. et devicerunt octo XI^{ti} millia: Ca^o. XV^o ... E. Compare with Index Capitularum of P: Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLXXXVI, Cap. 7. prefectus est. VII N - untiatum ... F and H.
2. N - untiatum est ... D: J. also has a division at this point.
- - - - -

a. In early February, 1098.

Dux de Caleph,¹ conducto magno exercitu de Cerosana,
ad succurrendum civitati Antiochiae veniret.^a

Quapropter habito consilio in domo episcopi, consultum
est ut pedites castra servarent, et milites hostibus
obviam extra castra pergerent: dicebant enim quod
multi de exercitu nostro, imbelles et pavidī, si
viderent Turcorum multitudinem, timoris potius quam
audaciae exempla monstrarent. Igitur sub noctem
perfecti, ne hi qui in civitate erant perciperent.

1. Calep ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. This was the army of Ridvan, the Selchūkid ruler of
Aleppo, 1095-1113: Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., vol.
I, Chap. X, The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon: S.
Runciman, p. 314. Since 1095 Ridvan had been overlord
of Antioch, but due to the intrigues of his governor
with Dukak, Emir of Damascus (vid. sup., p. 42) he had
initially refused to come to the aid of Antioch against
the Crusaders: *ibid.*, p. 309.

atque his qui¹ in auxilium eorum venerant nuntiarent,
 longe a nostris castris² per duas leugas inter mentio-
 ules se occultavere.³ Mane autem facto,^a cum sole hostes⁴
 apparuerunt. Audient igitur, audiant obsecro qui
 aliquando⁵ exercitum laedere conati sunt, ut cum
 magnificare Deum suam misericordiam in nobis cognoverint,⁶
 per poenitentiae lamenta ipsi satisfacere contendant.
 Dispositis itaque militibus in sex turmis, tantum⁷
 eos Deus multiplicavit, ut qui vix septingenti ante
 ordinationem apparebant, habita partitione plusquam
 duo millia inesse unicuique ordini affirmarentur.

1. Om. qui ... A.

2. Om. castris ... D.

3. se occultaverunt ... A, C, D, E, J.

4. sole et hostes ... G.

5. Om. aliquando ... C.

6. Deum suam in nobis misericordiam laedere cognoverunt,
 ... G.

7. tamen ... F and G.

- - - - -

a. The morning of the 9th February, 1098 when the battle,
 about to be described, took place.

De audacia vero illorum,¹ quid² loquar? Cum etiam³ cantus militares tan festive milites agerent, ut quasi preludio, imminens bellum haberent.⁴ Contigit autem in eo loco bellum fieri, quo palus et fluvijs quae per milliarium vicina sunt. Hoc autem hostibus evagandi licentiam vetuit, ne more suo⁵ accingere possent. Namque Deus, qui cetera nobis dederat, sex⁶ valles continuas, prodientibus ad bellum praebuit; atque una hora egressi, campeque occupato, sole etiam⁷ refulgente, in armis et clipeis pugna committitur. Nostri autem, primo paulatim procedere.⁸ Turci autem⁹ discurrere, sagittare, tamen recedere. At nostri tantum patiebantur, dum priores de Turcis, posterioribus infarcirentur. Etenim ut a profugis eorum didicimus, non minus quam

1. eorum ... D and J.

2. qui ... F.

3. et ... A.

4. bellum agerent ... D.

5. solito ... A.

6. VII valles ... C.

7. et ... A and C.

8. paulatim ceperunt procedere ... C, D and J.

9. Turci vero ... D, E, F, G, H and J.

viginti et octo millia equitum¹ in hoc bello fuisse referuntur. Utque satis prior acies Turcorum subsequentibus inclusa est,² invocato Deo, procurrunt Franci. Nec mora, adest Dominus fortis et potens in praelio,³ protexit filios et³ prostravit inimicos. Itaque persequuti sunt eos Franci usque ad castrum eorum munitissimum^b quod loco pugnae quasi decem⁴ milliaribus aberat. Castellani autem suorum fugam videntes, incenso castro fugam arripiunt. Hec autem tantum⁵ gaudium et exultatio nobis fuit, ut alteram victoriam de incenso castro confiteremur.

1. XXVIII millia ex equitum ... A. XXVIII equitum ... E.
millia Turcorum in ... D and J.

2. Om. est ... C.

3. Om. et ... F, G and H.

4. quod a loco pugnae decem ... J. quod a loco pugnae
quasi decem ... D.

5. Om. tantum ... A. totum ... D and J. tamen ...
C, F, G and H. cum gaudium ... E.

a. Psalm XXIII, 8.

b. The castle of Harim: Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., Chap.
I, The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon, S. Runciman,
p. 314.

¹Eodem itaque die tanta pugna in castris fuit, ut ibi nullus locus fuerit versus civitatem ubi bellum non esset. Composuerant enim hostes, ut dum ab obsessis acerrime impugnaremur, ab improvisis auxiliatoribus eorum, a gergo opprimeremur. Sed Deus, qui militibus nostris victoriam conferebat, in peditibus nostris praeliabatur. Nec minorem suscepimus eo die de obsessis triumphum, quam de fautoribus eorum milites nostri gloriam retulerunt. Igitur potita victoria et spoliis, capita caesorum ad castra deportata sunt. Et ut hostibus timorem et testimonium de profligato eorum succursu² ostenderemus, delata capita in palis suspensa sunt. Quod dispositione Dei actum esse, postea credidimus. Namque capto vexillo³ beatæ Mariæ⁴ ^a quasi ad opprobrium nostrum, cuspidem

1. E - odem ... D.

2. testimonium eorum de profligato succursu ... C.

3. capto nuper vexillo ... D and J.

4. beatæ semper virginis Mariæ ... D and J. The elaboration of the title of the Virgin is a characteristic of the manuscripts of the family; vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, pp. CLV-CLVI.

- - - - -

a. The standard of the Bishop of Le Puy captured in the fighting around Antioch at the time of the foraging battle: vid. sup. p. 40.

in terra figebant. Itaque actum est, ut visis suorum erectis captibus ab improprio nostro revocarentur.

¹Erant eo tempore in nostris castris Legati a rege Babyloniorum,^a qui videntes mira quae Deus per servos suos operabatur, Iesum Mariae Virginis filium glorificabant, qui per² pauperes suos potentissimos tyrannos³ conculcabat. Hi autem legati⁴ gratiam et benevolentiam

1. E - rant ... D.

2. Om. per ... A, C, E, F and H.

3. Om. tyrannos ... D and J.

4. Om. legati ... G.

- - - - -

a. Alexius had advised the Franks to seek the aid of Fatimid Egypt (Babylonian), and presumably this embassy was the result of an earlier Frankish initiative. The negotiations with Egypt went on till early May of 1099, and were finally broken off at the end of the siege of Acre (vid. inf., pp. 208-211). Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., Chap. X, The First Crusade: Antioch to Acre, S. Runciman, pp. 315-316.

apud regem suum nobis promittebant, praeterea plura beneficia regis in Christianos Aegyptios et peregrinos nostros referebant, Itaque remissi sunt cum illis legati nostri, qui foedus amicitiamque cum rege inirent.

¹Eodem ²tempore visum est principibus nostris ut in colle, qui supra tentoria Boamundi erat, castrum firmaretur,³ ne si rursus hostes contra nos venirent, nullo modo³ tentoria nostra impellere possent. Cum hoc factum fuisset, fuerant castra nostra ita firmissima, ut ad instar civitatis clausi tam opere quam natura undique essemus.⁴ Erat enim ab oriente

1. E - odem ... D.

2. Eo tempore ... E and G.

3. ne ullo modo ... H.

4. clausi quodam opere et natura undique ... D.

- - - - -

a. This appears to be a mistake on the part of Raymond of Aguilers. The castle in the camp of Bohemund, built on top of the hill nicknamed Malregard (lat. Maregart), was in fact constructed in late November 1097: vid. Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. V, xiii, p. 30 et n.l. For a full discussion of Raymond's chronology, vid. Historical Introduction, Section IV, p. XCI.

nobis castrum hoc;¹ a meridie, muri civitatis, et palus
 quae muros muniebat, castra etiam² nostra tuebatur,
 nec facultatem pugnandi, his de civitate concedebat,
 nisi per³ portas egrederentur; ab occidente vero
 fluvius erat; a septentrione quoddam vetus vallum quod⁴
 a monte descendens, ad fluvium usque perveniebat.⁵ Laud-
 abat etiam⁶ populus ut castellum aliud in monticulo
 qui supra pontem illorum erat, firmaretur; factae sunt
 etiam⁷ in castris machinae, quae muros civitatis
 impellerent; sed hoc frustrata fuit.⁸

-
1. Erat enim hoc ab oriente nobis castrum ... D.
 2. et ... A and C.
 3. Om. per ... A.
 4. qui ... A, P and H.
 5. L - audabat ... D.
 6. et ... A and C.
 7. et ... A.
 8. ... frustrata fuit. Manuscript A ends at this point halfway down folio 99. Folio 99^v is left blank except for a large VIII in red at the base. The text then begins again with a chapter heading in red on folio 100 (vid. next page).

Aliud bellum ubi victores extiterunt Turci,
devictis principibus nostris Boamundo...¹
comitem.²

Cumque iam in quinto mense³ obsidionis
 nostrae naves⁴ undique cum alimoniis ad portum
 nostrum^a applicarent, Turci civitatis vias maris

1. Boamundum ... A.

2. Om. C and G: vid. sup., Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CCXI-CCXII for a discussion of the chapterization of the text. Aliud bellum ubi victores fuerunt Turci, devictis principibus nostris Boamundo sunt, et comiti Sancti Egidii: Capitulum X^o sexto. C - um ... E. Compare the Index Capitulum of F in the Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLXXXVI, Cap. 7. F and H have a division at a later point; vid. inf., p. 63, n.4.

3. Cum igitur in quinque mense ... A. Cum iam ... G.

4. nostrae naves nostrae ... G.

a. i.e. Port St. Simeon; vid. sup., p. 36. This fleet, mainly composed of English ships, put in at Port St. Simeon on March 4th 1099: H. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la Première Croisade, 240, p. 130.

obsidere, atque portitores victualium interficere coeperunt. Nostri vero principes primo tantum patiebantur. Turci autem sceleris impunitate, spe rapinae, die noctuque instabant.¹ Consultumque tandem est² ut ad³ pontem illorum castrum firmaremus. Sed quia plurimi de nobis ad portum abierant, electus est comes et Boamundus ut eos inde adducerent, cum rastris et aliis instrumentis quibus vallum novi castelli fieret. Cumque compertum esset in civitate comitem et Boamundum abesse, assultus solitos ineperunt. Nostri autem, nimis temere atque inordinate progressi, turpiter fusi atque fugati sunt.⁴

Cumque die quarto^a comes et Boamundus,

-
1. C - onsultumque ... D.
 2. est tandem ... D and J.
 3. Om. ad ... A, C and E.
 4. fugati sunt. VIII: C - unque ... F and H.

- - - - -

a. March 6th 1098.

cum multitudine maxima a portu¹ reverterentur, a Turcis explorati sunt; nostri autem solo tumultu suo, securi esse arbitrabantur. Sed cur pluribus moror? Ventum est ad pugnam, et² nostri terga³ dederunt. Perdidimus enim⁴ usque ad tercentum homines; quantum vero spoliorum et armorum, non est dicere:⁵ dumque more pecudum per montes et abrupta quaeque trucidaremur et collideremur, hi de castris hostibus obviam procedere coeperunt. Sique factum est ut a caede fugientium revocarentur.⁶ Quid igitur, Domine Deus? In castris victi sunt; et hi duo maximi principes in exercitu tuo extra castra victi sunt! An ad castra fugiemus? an hi de castris ad nos? Exurge et⁸ adiuva nos propter⁹

1. ad portum ... D.

2. Om. et ... D and J.

3. Nostri autem terga ... D and J.

4. ibi ... D and J.

5. non est nostrum dicere ... D and J.

6. Q - uid ... D.

7. Ad castra fugiemus? ... A.

8. Om. et ... A.

9. adiuva nos Domine, propter... D and J.

nomen tuum.^a Quod si in castris rescitum est quod principes victi sunt, vel si nos castrensiū fugam nosse¹ contigerit, communis omnium fuga fiet. Surrexit itaque adiutor in opportunitatibus Dominus, atque illos quos prius terruerat,² priores in pugnam animavit.

³Videns igitur Gracianus,⁴ ^b qui civitatis rector erat, et nostrorum spolia et suorum victoriam, et adhuc quorundam nostrorum audaciam, milites et

1. fugam esse contigerit ... D. vel si ad castrenses nos fugam nosse ... G.

2. truderat ... D and J.

3. V - idens ... D.

4. Gratianus ... G. Cassianus ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Psalm XLIV, 25.

b. This was Yaghi - Siyan, Governor of Antioch, 1087-1098. Nominally he held Antioch, after the death of Malik-Shah, as a vassal of Ridwan of Aleppo, but in fact by intriguing with Dukak of Damascus, by the time the crusaders arrived he was virtually independent: Setton and Baldwin, *op.cit.*, Chap X, The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon, S. Runciman, p. 309.

pedites suos^{omnes} emisit, atque in spem victoriae adductus,
 portas civitatis post suos recludi iussit,¹ denunciatis mili-
 tibus suis vincere vel mori.² Interea nostri paulatim, et pro
 imperio procedere, Turci autem discurrere, sagittare,
 nimis³ audacter nostris⁴ incurrere. At nostri interdum
 patiebantur, dum densatis incurrere possent; nec ad
 impetum eorum retardabantur. Tantus vero luctus et
 clamor in castris ad Deum erat, ut affluentia⁵
 lachrymarum Dei pietatem descendendam putares.
 Cumque cominus⁶ res gerenda foret, quidam Isnardus⁷
 miles de Gagia, Provincialis nobilissimus, cum

1. fecit ... A.

2. I - nterea ... D.

3. discurrere et sagittare ceperunt nimis ... F.

4. Om. nostris ... D and J.

5. ... ut ad affluentiam ... A.

6. Cumque iam cominus ... A, D, B, F and J.

7. Isnardus ... E and F. Isnardus ... D and J.

- - - - -

2. Vic et Valsette suggest Isadore of Gaye or Galao, which
 could be in the dioceses of Rases, Lauragais or Usès:
 V et V, vol. II, Book XV, p. 290.

centum quinquaginta¹ peditibus, invocato Deo, genibus flexis, socios hortatus est, dicens "Eia milites Christi", atque hostibus incurrit. Similiter et aliae acies nostrae incurrunt. Hostium itaque superbia turbatur, porta clausa est, et pons strictus fluvius vero² maximus. Quid igitur? hostes turbati prosternuntur et caeduntur, ac³ saxis in flumine obruuntur; fuga autem nulla patet. Quod nisi Gracianus pontis portam⁴ aperuisset, illa die de Antiochia pacem habuissemus. Audivi a multis⁵ qui ibi fuerunt, quod viginti⁶ Turcos et amplius, de ponte sumptis spondalibus in flumine obruissent. Claruit ibi multum dux Lotharingiae. Hic namque hostes ad pontem praevenit, atque ascenso gradu, venientes per medium, dividebat.⁷ Celebrata itaque victoria cum ingenti exultatione et multis speliis et equis multis, nostri ad castra redeunt. Contigit ibi quoddam memorabile, quod

1. cum CL peditibus ... F and H.

2. Om. vero ... D.

3. et ... A, D, E and J.

4. portam pontis ... A.

5. Audivi ego a multis ... D and J: the insertion of ego is a frequent characteristic of the manuscripts of the m family: vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLV.

6. quod XXX/ta ... G, D and J.

7. dividebant ... H.

utinam qui nos suis prosequuntur votis, videre potuissent. Quidam enim eorum¹ equestres,² timore mortis, dum praeceps profundum fluminis ingrederetur, a multis de sua gente comprehensus, et ab equo suo deiectus, in medio fluminis obrutus est, cum illa multitudine quae eum apprehenderat.

³ Operae pretium est, vidisse quosdam pauperes a victoria revertentes; alii namque, intra tentoria in equis fariis⁴ discurrentes, revelationem suae paupertatis sociis ostendebant; alii autem, duobus vel tribus induti sericis vestimentis, largiterem⁵ victoriae et muneris Deum⁶ magnificabant; alii vero tribus vel quatuor muniti clipeis, suum triumphum⁷ alacriter praetendebant. Dumque his atque aliis⁸ ostentamentis fidem magnificae victoriae nobis persuasissent, de multitudine interfectorum suadere non potuerunt. Quoniam victoria sub

1. equorum ... G.

2. eques ... D, F, H and J.

3. O - perae ... D.

4. variis ... J.

5. induti sericis saccis indumentis largitorem ... D.

6. Om. Deum ... D.

7. ... clipeis, victoriae suae triumphum alacriter ... D and J.

8. ... his et aliis ... D and J. ... His aliisque ... A.

nocte habita est, caesorum capita ad castra delata non sunt.¹ Cumque postridie castrum ante pontem eorum² aedificaretur, in vallo quidam de Turcis reperti sunt; erat enim mons ille in sepulturam Sarracenorum. Exuviis³ igitur eorum provocati pauperes, omnia eorum monumenta fregerunt. Effossis itaque Turcis, qualis victoria fuerit, nulli dubium fuit. Namque numerati sunt, circiter mille quingenti; taceo modo⁴ et in civitate sepultos et a⁵ flumine tractos. Cum autem foetore intolerabile laborantibus in castello obstitissent cadavera, in flumine proiecta sunt. Nautae vero, qui in fuga comitis et Beamundi dispersi et vulnerati fuerant, de victoria adhuc prae timore dubitabant. Hi autem videntes tantam multitudinem, quasi de quadam multitudinem convalescentes, Deum magnificare coeperunt, qui filios suos corrigere et laetificare consuevit. Sic itaque Dei dispositione

1. C - umque ... D.

2. illorum ... A, C, D and J.

3. Ex his ... D and J.

4. taceo vero ... A.

5. et in ... D and J.

actum est, ut qui victualium conductores, in littore et ripis fluminis peremptos, feris et volucribus dederant, in locis eisdem et volucribus victualia fierent.

¹Celebrata itaque² et cognita victoria, et castro aedificato, civitas Antiochiae a septentrione et meridie obsessa est. Consultum est eo tempore, quis de principibus ad custodiendum castrum migrare potuisset. Quippe 'res communis pluribus frequenter negligitur, dum alii ab aliis custodiri eam arbitrantur'.³ Dumque alii de principibus, quasi pro mercede, vigilum suffragia ab aliis quaererent, comes praeter suorum voluntatem, castrum custodiam arripuit, simul ut⁴ desidiam et avaritiam excusaret, et vigoris atque prudentiae semitam torpentibus demonstraret.

⁴Namque tempore⁵ praeteritae aestatis gravi ac

-
1. C - elebrata ... D.
 2. igitur ... G.
 3. et ... C.
 4. N - amque ... D.
 5. Om. tempore ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. The same sentiment has already been expressed in a rather altered form: vid. sup., p. 34 et n.l.

diuturno morbo fatigatus, et adeo mollis per totam hyemem fuerat, ut nec ad militandum, nec ad largiendum promptus esse diceretur, et licet multa, quia plura posse credebatur, nullus esse clamabatur.¹ Igitur nactus hanc difficultatem, scilicet virtutis materiam,² tantam omnium invidiam passus est, ut pene a suis privatis dissociaretur.³ Interea dum comes haec negligit, sperans hostes de civitate maxima ex parte oppressos, illico fugituros, quodam diluculo ab hostibus circumdatus est.⁴ Claruit ibi magnum divinae protectionis miraculum, quod sexaginta viri de nostris pugnam septem millia Sarracenorum sustinuerunt,⁵ atque, quo magis mirum sit, praeteritis diebus imber immoderatus terram recentem humefactans, vallum novi castelli complevit. Sicque hostes nulla invia, sed sola virtus Dei retardabat. Non arbitror modo quorundam

1. credebatur ... D, F and J.

2. materiam virtutis ... D and J.

3. associaretur ... C, E, F and H.

4. C - laruit ... D.

5. pugnam Sarracenorum septem milium sustinuerunt ... D and J.

militum egregiam¹ virtutem reticendam, qui praeventi ab inimicis, dum eorum pontem custodiunt, ad castellum refugere non potuerunt; aberat enim castellum quasi² iactu unius sagittae. Igitur hi milites, facto giro inter hostium multitudinem, ad angulum cuiusdam vicinae domus pervenerunt; ibique hostium impetus³ et sagittarum rabiem, et saxorum undique nebulam, viriliter et imperterriti sustinuerunt.⁴ Interea sonitus pugnae auditus in castris, nostros excitavit. Sicque castrum ab hostibus liberatum est, et licet a longe prospecto succursu ab oppugnatione destitissent, et licet ponte eorum⁵ proximo, tamen posteriores eorum interempti sunt. Rursus itaque instaurato vallo, et moenibus castris, victualium conductores secure ire et redire a portu potuerunt. Igitur invidia quam comes pertulerat, adeo lenita est, ut ab omnibus pater et conservator exercitus appellaretur. Ab eo itaque tempore crevit comitis nomen, eo quod solus, hostium assultus ipse⁶ sustineret. Obsesso igitur ponte et porta pontis,⁷

-
1. militum nostrorum egregiam ... D and J.
 2. ... castellum a ponte illorum quasi ... D and J.
 3. impetus hostium ... H.
 4. sustulerunt ... D and J. ponte illorum ... D and J.
 5. eorum ponte ... C and G.
 6. per se ... A. Om. ipse ... D and J.
 7. porta civitatis ... A, D and J.

coeperunt egredi Turci per aliam portam, quae respicit ad meridiem iuxta fluvium; atque emittere equos suos ad quemdam recessum, qui inter montes et fluvium erat optima pascua. Explorato itaque a nostris loco,¹ et terminato die, per quamdam montis difficultatem circinata civitate, ad pascua illa venerunt, atque alii per vadum transeuntes, duo millia equos² inde adduxerunt, exceptis mulis et mulabus quae recuperata sunt; etenim³ praeterito tempore in itinere⁴ maris, multas nobis mulas abstulerant, quae modo captae et recognitae a dominis suis pristinae dictioni concessae sunt.⁵

⁶Post hoc tempus munivit Tancredus monasterium quoddam ultra flumen, et dedit ei comes ob hoc centum

-
1. loco a nostris ... D and J.
 2. equorum ... J.
 3. recuperati sunt qui enim ... H.
 4. tempore hyemis in itinere ... D and J.
 5. recognitae sunt a dominis suis et pristinae dictioni concessae ... D and J.
 6. P - est ... D; J also has a division at this point.

marchas argenti, et alii de principibus prout potuerunt. Hoc enim hostes multum constrinxit.¹ Libet itaque attendere² quanto pauciores numero sumus,³ tanto fortiores⁴ nos Dei gratia fecit. Interea nuntii venire coeperunt frequentissime, dicentes⁵ quod succursus hostibus veniret. Haec autem fama non solum ab Armenicis et Graecis nobis⁶ veniebat, verum etiam ab his qui in civitate erant nobis annuntiabatur. Quoniam Turci ante⁷ annos quatuordecim Antiochiam obtinuerant,^a atque Armenios iuvenes et

1. Hoc enim multum hostes constrinxit ... D and J.

2. attendere quia ... D and J.

3. sumus numero ... A.

4. tanto tanto fortiores ... G.

5. Om. dicentes ... D and J.

6. Om. nobis ... A and E.

7. per annos ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Antioch had been conquered by the Selchûkids under Malik - Shah in 1085. It had then fallen by treachery: Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., vol. I, Chap. X, The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon, S. Runciman, p. 309.

Graecos, quasi pro penuria domesticorum turcaverant,¹
 et uxores eis dederant. Hi tales, cum libertatem
 fugae habere poterant, cum equis et armis ad nos
 veniebant.² Cumque haec fama crebresceret,³
 multi de nostris pavidum fugere coeperunt, et Armenii
 mercatores. Interea boni milites, qui per castella
 diffusi erant, venire atque arma emere et adaptare
 et⁴ reficere⁵. Dumque satis contabescens tumiditas ab
 exercitu nostro defluxisset et animositas semper

1. tractaverunt ... A, F and H.

2. C - umque ... D.

3. haec fama de succursu hostium crebresceret ... D and J:
 again this appears to be one of the insertions of *sc*,
 intended to be explanatory: vid. sup., Critical Intro-
duction, section III, pp. CLIV-CLV.

4. Om. et ... G.

5. reficere ceperunt ... D and J and C: the use of the
 shortened form of the third person plural is frequent in
 the manuscripts of the *sc* tradition, and unusual in
 those of the *sc* family. Manuscript C, as has been
 remarked, is something of an exception to this: vid.
 sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLII.

prompta cum fratribus¹ et pro fratribus pericula subire,
venisset quidam de Turcis² qui erat in civitate,
principibus³ mandavit nostris quod civitatem nobis
redderet.

⁴Igitur communicato consilio principes,

-
1. cum fratribus prompta ... G.
 2. Turcatis ... D and J.
 3. Turcatis qui erat per Boimundum in civitate principibus ... D. Turcatis qui erat in civitate, per Boimundum principibus ... J: This reading of D and J must be rejected as an insertion of the scribe of *m*. The whole passage rather more than plays down Bohemund's role in the capture of the city; it disguises it. Further the fact that Raymond has already given one version of the promise of the city to Bohemund tends also to discredit it. It seems to me that Raymond's purpose here is suppression: vid. sup., Historical Introduction, Section IV, pp. XCV-XCVIII.
 4. redderet. X (in margin) I - gitur ... F and H.

Boamundum et ducem Lotharingiae et Flandrensem
 comitem ad haec experienda miserunt. Cumque per
 medium noctis civitatis venissent ad collem,¹
 remissus internuntius ab eo qui civitatem reddebat,
 dixit "Expectate dum lampas transeat". Etenim
 tres viri vel quatuor cum lampadibus per muros
 civitatis tota nocte pergebant excitando et
 commonendo vigiles. Post haec autem appropinquantes
 ad murum et erecta scala, coeperunt ascendere nostri.²
 Primus³ quidam Francus⁴ nomine Fulcherius, frater
 scilicet Budelli Carnotensis,^a muros⁵ intrepidus
 conscendit,⁶ quos comes Flandrensis consecutus,⁷
 Boamundo et duci mandavit ut ascenderent. Cumque
 omnes festinarent, ut alius alium praevenirent,
 scala fracta est. At vero hi qui ascenderant,
 descendentes in civitatem, posterulam quamdam

-
1. noctis venissent, ad collem civitatis, remissus ... D and J.
 2. viri ... D.
 3. Primusque ... A, C, D, E and J.
 4. Om. Francus ... D.
 5. murus ... D and J.
 6. muros conscendit intrepidus ... A.
 7. secutus ... G.

- - - - -

- a. As he was from Chartres it is to be assumed that Fulcher (and perhaps his brother) had come with Stephen of Blois. Nothing further is known about them.

aperuerunt. Ingressi itaque nostri¹ non ceperunt aliquem de his quos invenerunt. Cumque diei aurora comparuisset, conclamaverunt. Hanc advocem² cum³ omnis civitas turbaretur, mulieres et parvuli flere coeperunt.⁴ Illi vero qui in castello comitis erant, ad hanc vocem⁵ excitati, quippe ut⁶ propinquiore, dicere coeperunt ad invicem, "Suscursum eorum venit". Alii autem⁷ e contra, "Non videtur vox ista⁸ laetantium". Cumque dies albesceret, in meridionali colle civitatis signa nostra comparuerunt. Turbati igitur cives, cum in monte super se nostros conspicerent, alii per portas fugere,⁹ alii se praecipitare;

-
1. nostri omnes ... D and J.
 2. Ad hanc vocem ... D and J.
 3. ut ... G.
 4. et parvuli ceperunt flere ... A. et parvuli eorum flere ceperunt ... D and J.
 5. vocem omnes ... D and J.
 6. Quia ut ... D and J.
 7. Quia. autem ... A and E.
 8. ista vox ... G.
 9. ... per portas fugere ceperunt, alii se ... D and J.

restitit nullus: quippe¹ turbaverat eos Dominus.

Iocundum spectaculum tandem post multa tempora nobis² factum;³ ut qui tamdiu Antiochiam contra nos defenderant,⁴ de Antiochia⁵ modo fugere non valerent; quod si quidam eorum arripere fugam⁶ ausi sunt, tamen mortem evadere non potuerunt⁷... Accidit ibi quoddam satis nobis⁸ iocundum atque delectabile. Dum enim per praerupta quae collem medium a septentrionali dividunt,⁹ Turci quidam subterfugere niterentur, nostris quibusdam obviaverunt; cumque Turci regredi compellerentur, tanto impetu se affecerunt repulsi fugientes, ut omnes pariter praecipitarentur. Gaudium quidem¹⁰ nobis fuit¹¹ de praecipitatis hostibus,

1. restitit quippe nullus ... G.

2. Om. nobis ... A.

3. facti ... F and H.

4. tenuerant ... D and J.

5. de illa ... D and J.

6. fugam arripere ... G.

7. Om. potuerunt ... C, E, F, G and H: because of the position of the negative this cannot be a shortened form of the third person plural.

8. nobis satis ... E and G.

9. quae medium a septentrionali dividunt ... A. quae collem dividunt a septentrione ... D and J.

10. quippe nobis ... C. Gaudium nobis fuit quidem ... H.

11. fuit nobis ... D and J.

sed de equis plusquam trecentis inibi decollatis
doluimus. Quantum vero¹ spoliorum² est captum³ infra
Antiochiam non est nostrum dicere, nisi quod credite
quantum vultis, et aestimate supra. Quanti autem de
Turcis et de Sarracenis⁴ tunc perierunt, dicere
nescimus: quam diversis autem⁵ mortibus et quam
variis ceciderint, explicare crudele est.⁶ Illi autem
hostes qui castellum de medio colle servabant,^a
videntes suorum necem et nostros ab oppugnatione

1. Om. vero ... D.

2. Om. spoliorum ... C and G.

3. captum est ... A and E.

4. de Sarracenis et de Turcis ... D and J.

5. Om autem ... D and J.

6. Quanti autem de Turcis etc... ex licare crudele est.
Quantum vero spoliorum etc... et aestimate supra ... D
and J.

a. This refers to the garrison of the citadel of Antioch,
which Raymond has earlier said was called Colax in
Greek: vid. sup., p. 32 et n.a.

sui desistere, castellum suum retinuerunt. Gracianus autem egressus per posterulam quamdam, ab Armeniis rusticis captus et decapitatus, atque caput eius nobis allatum¹ est,^a quod ineffabili Dei dispositione actum credo, ut qui multos eiusdem generis² homines decollari fecerat, ab eisdem capite truncaretur.³ Capta est igitur⁴ civitas Antiochiae tertio nonas Iunii:^b obsessa autem circiter undecimo kalendas novembris.^{5 c}

-
1. oblatum ... D and J.
 2. gentis ... D and J.
 3. ob eisdem etc ... Om. D and J.
 4. Om. igitur ... F, G and H.
 5. CAPTA EST CIVITAS etc. capitalized in F, but not in colour, and not removed from the text: vid. sup., Critical Introduction, Section III, pp. CLXVII.

- - - - -

- a. The head was presented to Bohemond, according to the author of the Gesta: (ed. Hill), Lib. VIII, xx, p. 48.
- b. The Crusaders attacked Antioch on the night of June 2nd. 1098, and captured it on June 3rd 1098.
- c. The siege of Antioch began on 21st October, 1097.

Interea dum nostri enumerando et recognoscendo spolia ab oppugnatione castr¹i superioris¹ desisterent, atque audiendo saltatrices paganorum² splendide ac³ superbe epularentur, nullatenus Dei memores, qui tantum beneficium eis contulerat, post tertium diem in nonis eiusdem Iunii⁴ a paganis obsessi sunt.^a Sicque actum est, ut qui tandiu per Dei misericordiam Antiochenos Turcos obsederant, per eius dispositionem a Turcis obsiderentur. Atque ut magis timeremus, castellum superius,⁵ quod quasi civitatis custodia est, in manibus hostium erat. Timore igitur coacti nostri,

-
1. superioris castr¹i ... D and J.
 2. paganorum quod ... G.
 3. atque ... C and G.
 4. mensis Iunii ... D and J.
 5. superius dictum, quod ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. Antioch was besieged by a Turkish relief army under the command of Kerbogah of Mosul on 5th June, 1098.

castelli obsidionem arripuerunt.¹ Corbaga² a autem, Turcorum dominus, in principio adventus sui, sperans bellum illice futurum, longe a civitate, quasi per duo milliaria, tentoria sua fixit, atque ordinibus factis usque ad pontem civitatis pervenit. Nostri autem prima die castellum comitis munierunt, metuentes, si ad bellum procederent, ut ab hostibus qui in castello erant, civitas corriperetur, vel si castellum quod ante pontem erat, desererent, et illud hostes³ occuparent, facultatem pugnandi, et aditum egrediendi nobis recluderent.

1. C - orbaras ... D.

2. Corbagat ... A and C. Corbaras ... D and J.

3. et hostes illud ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Kerbogah, atabeg of Mosul had been despatched by the Sultan Berkyaruk (1094-1105) to defeat the Franks, hence his expedition had considerable general authority in the Muslim world. Kerbogah died in 1102. Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., vol. I, Chap. V, The Turkish Invasion, C. Cahen, p. 169.

¹Erat in² exercitu miles clarissimus et
karissimus³ omnibus, nomine Rotgerius⁴ de Barnevilla:^a
hic cum exercitum revertentium⁵ in inimicorum
assequeretur, captus et capite truncatus est.
Invasere igitur nostros, dolor et timor,⁶ usque
adeo ut ad⁷ desperationem evadendi multi ducer-
entur. Passi itaque⁸ Turci semel et secundo
repulsam pugnandi, tertia die castrum oppugnant,
atque ibi tanta vi certatum est, ut sola Dei virtus

-
1. E - rat ... D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. Erat autem in ... D and J. Erat exercitu ... C.
 3. karissimus et clarissimus ... C and G.
 4. Rogerius ... F and H.
 5. revertentium exercitum ... D and J.
 6. timor et dolor ... A, E, F and H.
 7. adeo ut useque ad ... D and J.
 8. igitur ... C, D and J.

- - - - -
- a. Roger, Lord of Barneville-sur-Mer (Dept. de Manche):
Gesta (ed. Bréhier), 8, p. 39, n.5. The Gesta says he
had travelled with Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy;
ibid., Albert of Aix gives a more detailed description of
his death: A.A.Lib.V, Cap. XXVII, pp. 407-408. The
Chanson d'Antioch (ed. P.Paris) also narrates his death
at length: Chant VII, iv, pp. 140-142 (vol. II). He
appears to have been well known in the army, perhaps
for his valour rather than his eminence.

defendere castrum, et resistere adversariis crederetur. Namque cum iam transcendere vallum et dirvere murum pararent, nescio unde concepto timore, praecipites in fugam ruunt. Decurso itaque aliquantulo spatio, cum fugae causam nullam conspicerent, timidiatem¹ suam causantes ad oppugnationem redeunt, et quasi satisfacturi pro pudore habitae fugae, vehementius imminerent, rursus Dei virtute vehementius terrentur.² Itaque hostes ad castra sua redunt ea³ die.⁴ Alia autem die, cum maximo apparatu ad castrum redire coeperunt; nostri vero castrum incendunt, atque moenibus civitatis se intrudunt. Auctus itaque timor Francorum est, et hostium audacia excrevit.⁵ Quippe qui nihil extra civitatem haberemus, et ab inimicis nostris, castellum, quod caput civitatis est, retineretur. Igitur confirmati Turci ingredi ad nos per castellum disposuerunt. Nostri autem loci⁶ opportunitate, et

1. tarditatem ... J.

2. rursus diu vehementius pugnant ... D and J.

3. ipso ... G.

4. Itaque hostes ea die ad castra sua redeunt ... D and J.

5. excrevit audacia ... D and J.

6. Om. loci ... C.

eminentia confisi, obviam hostibus contendunt, et
 primo impetu eos prosternunt; dumque¹ imminentis
 belli obliviscuntur, et praedae inbiant, foedissime
 in fugam vertuntur. Stenim plusquam centum
 homines in porta civitatis suffocati sunt; equi vero
 quam plures. Igitur ingressi castellum Turci, in
 civitatem deorsum descendere voluerunt. Erat enim
 vallis inter montem nostrum et castellum ipsorum,²
 non magna quidem, et cisterna quaedam erat in medio
 et³ modica planities. Nec erat hostibus⁴ descensus
 in civitatem nisi per medium nostri montis. Qua-
 propter omni intentione et omni virtute sua nos
 expugnare et remove ab itinere suo nos⁵ contendunt,
 atque⁶ tanta vi a mane usque ad⁷ vesperum pugnatum est,
 ut nusquam simile audiatur.⁸ Contigit ibi quoddam nostris
 satis horrendum atque acutus inauditum, quod

-
1. dumque nostri ... A, C, E, F, G and H.
 2. inter castellum ipsorum et montem nostrum ... D and J.
 3. cisterna in medio quaedam et ... G.
 4. Om. hostibus ... D and J.
 5. ... suo in civitate nos contendunt ... D and J.
 6. atque ibi ... J. atque ibi ita tanta ... J.
 7. Om. ad ... F and H.
 8. C - ontigit ... D.

inter sagittarum grandinem et saxorum atque telorum continuos impulsus, et inter mortes tantorum, nostri sopiebantur. Finem huius pugnae, si quaeritis, nox fuit. In nocte autem cum nostri Dei misericordiam sperare debuissent, multi desperare coeperunt, atque praecipites, per funes ab altitudine murorum deiciebantur. Alii autem a bello discidentes in civitatem, communem omnium decapitationem venisse, cunctis nuntiabant et quo magis timeri poterat, dum alii ab aliis adhortabantur ut viriliter resistent, ipsi in fugam vertuntur.

¹Itaque ut diximus, dum nostri conturbarentur, et cum² in desperationem ruerunt, divina clementia eis³ adfuit, et quae lascivientes filios correxerat, nimium tristes tali modo consolata est.

1. I - taque.

2. Om. cum ... D and J.

3. divina eis clementia ... D and J.

Qualiter Lancea fuit Inventa¹

Igitur cum capta esset civitas Antiochiae,
usus sua potentia et benignitate Dominus, pauperem²

-
1. J has this chapter heading in its margin (Bongars, p. 150).
Incipit Inventio Domini Lanceae: A, F and H.
Prima visio: marginal note in D.
 Om. G: but there is a gap left for a chapter heading.
 ... consolatus est. After this there follows a series
 of chapters from Fulcher's work: Ubi post captionem
civitatis Antiochiae. Franci in ipsum inclusi sunt Ca.º
XVIIº: Ubi dominus apperuit quidam clerico, mortem
timenti vel fugienti; Capitula decem et octo: UBI
apperuit quidam mortuum fratri suo fugienti; Capitulo
XIXº. It then returns to the work of Raymond of Aguilera
 with the heading:
Ubi lancea fuit inventa quae latus Domini
perforavit; Ca.º XXº ... E.
 2. consolatus est ergo sua potentia Dominus et benignitate
 pauperem ... D.

quemdam rusticum^a elegit, Provincialem genere, per quem omnes nos confortavit, et comiti et Podiensi episcopo haec verba mandavit:¹

"Andreas Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi apostolus me quatuor olim monuit,² b et iussit ut ad vos venirem et³ lanceam quae Salvatoris latus aperuit, capta civitate vobis redderem. Hodie autem cum ad pugnam profectus essem extra civitatem^c cum reliquis, atque comprehensus a duobus⁴ equitibus⁵ pene suffocatus in regressu fuisset, quasi exanimis illic super lapidem quemdam tristis resedi.⁶ Cumque prae

1. De inventione lanceae ... marginal note in D.

2. admonuit ... F, D and J.

3. ac ... A, C, D and J.

4. ad vobis ... C.

5. militibus ... G.

6. resedissem ... C, F, G and H.

a. His name was Peter Bartholemew; Raymond later names him: vid. inf., p. 138, n.a.

b. Peter made his revelations on June 11th. Up to that date he had had, in fact, five visions.

c. This was the skirmish described above, pp. 85-86 fought on the 10th June, 1098.

dolore et timore, sicut tristis titubarem,
venit ante me beatus Andreas cum socio
quodam,^a et¹ multum mihi interminatus,²
nisi cito vobis lanceam redderem."^b

Cumque ab eo comes et episcopus
revelationis et visionis apostolicae
ordinem requirerent, respondit;

³"In

primo⁴ terrae motu qui apud Antiochiam
factus est,⁵ cum exercitus Francorum
obsideret eam, tantus timor me invasit,
ut nihil praeter Deus adiuva me⁵ dicere
possem. Erat enim nox, et ego iacebam, nec
in tugurio meo erat aliquis cuius consortio

1. Om. et ... F, G and H.

2. interminatus est ... D and J.

3. I - n ... D.

4. principio ... D and J.

5. Om. me ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. His identity is uncertain, but vid. inf., p. 91 n.a.

b. This was Peter Bartholemew's fifth vision.

c. This earthquake has already been mentioned: vid. sup.
p. 47 et n.a.

refoverer. Cum autem, ut dixi, concussio terrae¹
 diutius duraret, et timor meus semper excreceret,
 coram me duo viri adstiterunt, in veste
 clarissima: alter² erat senior, raso canoque³
 capillo, oculi nigri, et convenientes faciei,
 barba vero cana et lata et⁴ prolixa, et
 statura eius media. Alter vero et⁵ iunior et
 procerior erat, speciosus forma prae filiis
hominum.^a Et ait mihi senior, 'Quid agis? et

1. Om. terrae ... D and J.

2. alter vir ... C.

3. et cano ... A.

4. atque ... D and J.

5. Om. et ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Psalm XLV, 2. This was a classic description applied to Christ: vid. Saint Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XVII, 16 in P... XII, col. 549. The implication is that the companion of St. Andrew was in fact Christ. St. Andrew's companion in his sixth vision in fact turns out to be Christ, vid. inf., pp. 111-112.

ego maxime timui, quia nullum adesse
 sciebam. Et respondi, 'Quis es tu?'
 Et ait, 'Surge, et noli timere, et audi
 quae ego loquor ad te. Ego sum Andreas
 apostolus. Congrega episcopum Podiensem
 et comitem sancti Aegidii et Petrum
 Raymundum¹ de Alto Pullo^a et haec dices
 ad illos:² 'Cur negligit episcopus

1. Om. Raymundum ... D.

2. ad eos ... E and H.

a. Peter - Raymond of Hautpoul, a castle in the diocese of Lavaur, between Narbonne and Carcassonne. He was probably a direct vassal of the Count of Toulouse: V. at V. vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 291. In the Cartulary of the Abbey of Chaisse - Dieu (in the archives of Le Puy) there is a charter, (H.179) by which Petrus Ermengaudi, Bishop of Nîmes (1080-1090: Gams, op.cit.) at the prayer of Raymundus comes (of St. Gilles?) and Eremgard, vice-count of Nîmes, gave the church of St. Boueble of Nîmes to Escotay, Abbot of Chaisse-Dieu. It is witnessed, amongst others, by Petrus Raimundus de Alto-Pullo et Willelmus Pictavinus, frater eius.

praedicare et commonere et cum cruce quam
 praefert cotidie¹ signare populum? Etenim
 multum prodesset illis.' Et addidit, 'Veni
 et ostendam tibi lanceam patris nostri
 Iesu Christi,² quam comiti donabis; etenim
 Deus eam concessit³ illi ex quo genitus
 est.' Surrexi itaque, et secutus sum eum
 in civitate nullo circumdatus amictu,
 praeter camisiam. Et induxit me in ecclesiam
 beati Petri apostoli⁴ per septentrion-
 alem portam, quam antea Sarraceni

1. Om. cotidie ... D and J.

2. tibi patris nostri Iesu Christi lanceam ... D and J.

3. etenim eam concessit illi ... C, D and J.

4. Om. apostoli ... D and J.

Mahumariam¹ fecerant. In ecclesia vere
 duae lampades erant, quae tantum lumen ibi² reddebant,
 ac si meridies illuxisset. Et dixit mihi 'Expecta
 hic'. Et iussit me assistere columnas, quae proxima
 erat gradibus, quibus ascenditur³ ad altare a meridie.
 Et socius eius a longe stetit ante gradus altaris.
 Ingressusque sub⁴ terram sanctus Andreas, produxit
 lanceam, atque in manibus mihi⁵ tradidit. Et dixit mihi,
 'Ecce lancea quae latus eius⁶ aperuit, unde totius
 mundi salus emanavit.' Dumque eam in manibus meis
 tenerem, lachrimando praegaudio, dixi ei, 'Domine si
 vis portabo eam et reddam comiti.' Et dixit mihi,
 'Sine modo, futurum est⁷ enim, ut civitas capiatur.

-
1. Mahumariam ... D and J.
 2. quae tantum ibi lumen
 3. ascendebatur ... D and J.
 4. Ingressus autem sub terram ... D and J.
 5. atque mihi in manibus tradidit ... C.
 6. Om. eius ... D and J.
 7. Om. est ... D and J.

Et tunc venies cum duodecim viris, et quaeres eam
 hic unde ego¹ abstraxi, et ubi eam recondam. 'Et
 recondidit eam. His ita peractis,² super murum
 civitatis reduxit me in domum meam, et sic a me
 recesserunt. Tunc ego, mecum recogitans, et pauperitatis
 meae habitum, et vestram magnitudinem, veritus sum
 ad vos accedere.

³Post illud tempus cum profectus essem ad
 quoddam castrum quod est iuxta Roian,^a propter
 alimoniam, prima die quadragesimae in galli cantu,^b

1. quaeres eam under hic ego ... G.

2. His itaque peractis ... C.

3. P - est ... D.

- - - - -

a. i.e. Edessa. The exact location of quoddam castrum cannot
 be ascertained. The passage casts an interesting light
 on the perambulations of the poor in search of food.

b. February 10th (Ash Wednesday), 1098: this was Peter
 Bartholomew's second vision.

adfuit mihi¹ beatus Andreas in eodem habitu, et cum eodem socio quo prius venerat,² et magna claritas domum replevit. Et ait beatus Andreas, 'Vigilas ne?', Sic expergefactus, respondi 'Non Domine, Domine³ mi non dormio'. Et ait mihi, 'Dixisti ea quae dudum tibi⁴ dicenda mandavi?' Et respondi, 'Domine, nonne ego⁵ precatus sum vos, ut⁶ alium eis mitteretis? Etenim metuens paupertati meae, accedere ante⁷ illos dubitavi'. Et dixit mihi, 'Nescisne⁸ cur Deus huc vos adduxit et quantam vos diligit, et quomodo praecipue vos elegit?⁹ Pro contemptu sui et suorum vindicta, vos huc venire fecit. Diligit vos adeo ut sancti iam in requie positi, divinae dispositionis gratiam praenoscentes, in carne esse, et concertare vobiscum¹⁰ vellent. Elegit

1. Om. mihi ... C, E, F, G and H.

2. et cum eo quo prius venerat socio ... D and J.

3. Om. Domine ... D and J, A.

4. quae tibi dudum ... A.

5. Om. eo ... D and J.

6. et ... C and G.

7. ad ... D and J.

8. Nescis ... G.

9. vos praecipue ... A, D, F, H and J. diligit ... F and G.

10. nobiscum ... E, F, G and H.

vos Deus, ex omnibus gentibus, sicut triticeae spicae de avenaria colliguntur. Etenim meritis et gratia praeceditis omnes, qui ante et post vos venient, sicut aurum praetio¹ praecedit argentum'. Post haec discesserunt et me tanta aegritudo appressit, ut lumen oculorum perderem, et dispositionem tenuissimae paupertatis meae facerem. Tunc ego coepi mecum cogitare, quod ob negligentiam apostolicae iussionis, haec² iuste mihi contingerent.³ Confortatus itaque, ad obsidionem reversus sum. Rursus paupertatis meae debilitatem recogitans, timere coepi, si ad vos venirem, famelicum me esse, et pro victu talia ea⁴ referre me proclamaretis. Itaque⁵ ea vice conticui.

⁶Defluente itaque tempore, cum apud portum Sancti Symeonis, sabatto in Palmis⁷ essem,^a atque cum domino meo Willelmo Petri,^b infra tentorium una

-
1. Om. praetio ... A and D.
 2. Om. haec ... A. ... tunc ... F and H.
 3. visionis iuste mihi hoc contingerent ... C.
 4. Om. ea ... A, C, E, G, D and J.
 5. Itaque et ... D and J.
 6. D - efluente ... D.
 7. Om. sabatto in Palmis ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. March 20th 1098: this was Peter's third vision.
- b. He is unknown.

recubarem, affuit beatus Andreas cum socio, et habitu eodem quo prius venerat, atque mihi sic¹ loquutus est: 'Cur non dixisti comiti et episcopo, et aliis, quae ego² praeceperam tibi?'. Et respondi, 'Domine, nonne ego precatus sum te³ ut alium pro me mitteres, qui et⁴ sapientior esset, et quem audire vellent.⁵ Praeterea Turci sunt in itinere, qui venientes et abeuntes interficiunt'. Et ait sanctus Andreas, 'Noli timere, quia nihil tibi nocebunt; haec quoque dices comiti;⁶ cum venerit ad Iordanam fluvium; non intinguatur ibi, sed navigio transeat. Cum autem transierit, camisia et braciis lineis inditus, de flumine aspergatur. Et postquam siccata fuerint eius vestimenta, reponat ea et conservet⁷ cum lancea Domini.'^a Et haec dominus meus Willelmus Petrus audivit, licet non videret apostolum. Confortatus igitur, ad exercitum reversus sum. Cumque vobis haec⁸ pariter dicere vellem, coadunare vos non

1. sic mihi ... D and J.

2. Om. ego ... C.

3. Nonne ego prectus sum te, Domine ... D and J.

4. Om. et ... C and G.

5. vellent audire ... D and J.

6. ad comitem ... C and G.

7. conservet ea ... D and J.

8. haec vobis ... C.

- - - - -

a. despite not knowing their purpose, Raymond of Toulouse carried out these instructions: vid. inf. pp. 356-357.

potui. Itaque profectus sum ad portum de Mamistra. Ibi vero cum navigare in Cyprum insulam pro victualibus vellem, comminatus est mihi multum sanctus¹ Andreas, nisi cito reverterem² et vobis iniuncta mihi referrem...^a Cumque cogitarem mecum quomodo reverterem ad castra (aberat enim portus ille ab exercitu quasi per tres dies) amarissime flere coepi, cum redeundi facultatem reperire non possem.³ Tandem a sociis et domino meo commoitus, navigium ingressus in Cyprum remigare coepimus. Et cum per totam diem remis et prosperis ventis ageremur, usque ad solis occasum,

-
1. beatus ... D and J.
 2. redirem ... D and J.
 3. T - andem ... D.

- - - - -

- a. This was Peter Bartholomew's fourth vision. From what follows, it would appear that it took place in either late April or early May.

orta subito tempestate in spatio unius
 horae vel duarum ad relictum portum reversi
 sumus. Sicque secundo et tertio a transitu
 prohibiti in insulam, ad portam Sancti Symeonis
 reversi sumus.¹ Ibi languorem gravissimum incurri.
 Capta autem civitate, ad vos veni. Et nunc si
 vobis placet, experimini quae dice'.

Episcopus autem² nihil esse, praeter
 verba putavit: comes vero illico credidit,
 et illum qui hoc dixerat capellano suo
 Raymundo,^a custodiendum tradidit.

1. Sicque etc ... Om. D and J. This is an omission of
 some importance; vid. sup. Critical Introduction,
 Section II, p. CXLIX.

2. Om. autem ... C.

- - - - -
 a. This was almost certainly Raymond of Aguilera himself.
 From this time certainly, he appears to have been in
 constant contact with the visionary. Vide Infra and
 especially p. 151.

De visione cuiusdam sacerdotis.¹

Apparuit in ipsa nocte quae secuta est,^a Dominus
noster Iesus Christus cuidam sacerdoti, nomine Stephano,²
lachrymanti pro interitu suo et sociorum, quem futurum
illico sperabat. Etenim terruerant eum quidam, qui de
castello descenderant, dicentes Turcos iam descendere de

1. This heading is crossed out in red in A. tradidit. Gap
left for title. A - pparuit. etc. ... C and G.
tradidit. A - pparuit ... D: J also has a division at
this point. tradidit. pparuit ... F: gap apparently
left for the capital. Om. H. De visione cuiusdam
sacerdotis, et qualiter lancea Domini fuit inventa;
Capitulum XX^o primo. A - pparuit ... E.

2. Om. nomine Stephano ... D.

- - - - -

a. Night of the 10th June, 1098. Most other sources place
Stephen's vision before that of Peter Bartholemew,
but Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la première Croisade,
p. 162, (279) accepts Raymond's very specific dating.
The Gesta certainly places Stephen's vision before that
of Peter Bartholemew: Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxiiii,
pp. 57-59 and xxv, pp. 59-60.

b. Raymond later refers to him as Stephen Valentine:
Stephanus cognomine Valenti: vid. inf. p. 236.

monte in civitatem, atque nostros fugere et victos
 esse. Propterea sacerdos volens habere Deum mortis
 suae testem,¹ ingressus ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ²
 habita confessione, et sumpta venia, cum quibusdam
 sociis Psalmos cantare coepit: dormientibusque
 aliis cum solus vigilaret, atque cum dixisset,
Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut
quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?^a Stetit
 coram eo vir quidam, ultra omnem speciem pulcher,³
 et dixit ei, 'Homo, quænam est hæc gens, quæ
 civitatem ingressa est?' Et ait presbyter,
 'Christiani'. Et dixit ille,⁴ 'Cuiusmodi Christiani?'
 Et sacerdos, 'Qui credunt Christum de Virgine

1. Deum testem mortis suæ ... G.

2. beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ ... D and J.

3. ... quidam, ultra omnem speciem habens pulchritudinem
 ... D and J.

4. Et ille dixit ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Psalm XV, 1.

natum, et in cruce passum, mortuum et sepultum et
 resurrexisse tertia die, atque in coelum ascendisse.'
 Et dixit vir ille¹ 'Et si Christiani sunt, cur
 paganorum multitudinem verentur?' Et addidit,
 'Agnoscisne² me?' Et presbyterrespondit, 'Non
 agnosco te,³ nisi quod pulcherrimum omnium te
 video'.⁴ Et ait vir, 'Diligentissime intueri me'.
 Cumque in eum perspicaciter sacerdos intenderet,⁵
 de capite eius, speciem crucis sole multum clariorem
 procedere vidit. Et ait⁶ viro interroganti
 de se,⁷ 'Imagines Iesu⁸ Christi esse dicimus, quae
 similem tibi speciem praeferant.' Et dixit illi Dominus,
 'Bene dixisti, quia ego sum. Nonne scriptum est

-
1. ille vir ... G.
 2. Agnoscis me ... G.
 3. te Domine ... D and J.
 4. video te ... D and J.
 5. intenderet sacerdos ... A.
 6. Et ait presbyter ... D and J.
 7. Om. viro interroganti de se ... D.
 8. Domine, imagines Domini nostri Iesu ... D and J.

de me, quia sum Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus
 potens in praelio?¹ a Et quis est dominus in exercitu?'
 Et respondit presbyter, 'Domine non fuit ibi
 unus solus dominus unquam, sed magis episcopo
 credunt'. Et dixit Dominus, 'Haec dices episcopo:
 populus iste male agendo me elongavit a se, et
 ideo dicat² eis: Haec dicit Dominus;³ Convertimini
 ad me et ego revertar ad vos. Et cum pugnam inierint

-
1. ... quia sum Dominus fortis et potens in praelio ...
 A, C, E, F, G and H: I have given the form of DJ simply
 because it is the correct quotation of the Psalm.
 2. dicas ... A.
 3. Haec dicit Dominus ... Om. A, C, E, F, G and H: although
 this short reading is supported only by DJ I have included
 it because it gives the passage a much better sense.

- - - - -

a. Psalm XXIV, 8.

haec dicant, Congregati sunt inimici nostri, et gloriantur
in virtute sua, contere fortitudinem illorum, Domine,
et disperge illos ut cognoscant¹ quia non est alius
qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu Deus noster.^a Et haec
quoque dices ad illos:² Si feceritis, quae ego praecipio
vobis, usque ad quinque dies,^b vestri miserebor.' Haec
autem eo dicente, mulier quaedam³ c supra modum
inflammati vultus accessit. Et intuita Dominum, dixit
ei, 'Domine, et quid huic viro dicitis?'⁴ Dominus⁵ ad
illam, 'Domina, quaero ab eo de hac gente quae civitatem⁶

1. Om. ut cognoscant ... D and J.

2. eos ... D and J.

3. mulier noster Iesu Christi Maria quaedam ... B.
Mulier Maria, Mater Iesu Christi quaedam ... F and H: vid.
sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLXX.

4. et huic viro quid dicitis ... G and C.

5. Et Dominus ... D and J.

6. in civitate ... D and J.

- - - - -

b. This was taken to refer to the Holy Lance, discovered on
the 14th June, 1098: vid. inf., p. 108.

c. This is clearly Mary, for Christ refers to her as Domina.

ingressa est, quae sit." Et ait Domina, "O Domine mi, hi sunt pro quibus ego tantum te rogo".

¹Cumque sacerdos socium suum² qui prope se³ dormiebat pulsaret, ut tantae visionis testem habere potuisset, ob oculis eius sublati sunt. Mane autem facto in montem sacerdos ascendit, ubi principes nostri morabantur contra Turcorum castellum, praeter ducem; ille enim castellum quod erat in septentrionali colle servabat. Convocata itaque⁴ contione, habuit haec verba ad nostros principes, atque ut verum esse monstraret,⁵ super crucem iuravit. Incredulis autem satisfacere volens, vel transire per ignem, vel praecipitare⁶ de altitudine turris voluit.⁷ Tunc iuraverunt principes, quod de Antiochia non fugerent,

-
1. C - unique ... D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. suum socium ... D and J.
 3. Om. se ... D and J.
 4. itaque sacerdos ... D and J.
 5. verum diceret ... D.
 6. praecipitare se ... D and J.
 7. satisfacere volens transire per altitudinem turris voluit ... C.

neque egrederentur, nisi de communi consilio
 omnium. Etenim populus ea tempestate existimabat,
 quod principes vellent fugere ad portum. Confortati
 sunt itaque multi.¹ Etenim in nocte praeterita pauci
 steterunt in fide, qui fugere non voluissent. Quod
 nisi episcopus et Boamundus² portas civitatis
 reclusissent, admodum pauci remansissent³. Fugit
 tamen Willelmus de Grandis Matnil,^{2 b} et³ frater
 eius, et multi alii, laici et clerici. Multis autem

-
1. Confortati sunt multi ... C. Confortatique sunt multi ... G.
 2. de Granduna ... D; de Grandis Mainil ... A, F, and H.
 Grandes Malnil ... C; de Grandismasnil ... D and E.
 3. simul et ... J.

- - - - -

- a. Later, ca. 20th June, the crusaders temporarily made Bohemond their commander in chief: vid. inf., p. 116.
- b. William of Grand-Mesnil, near Lisieux: Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. II, xxiii, p. 56 et n.4. His brother was called Aubrey: Runciman, op.cit. vol. I (The First Crusade) Bk. IV, Chap. IV, p. 238. William was the brother-in-law of Bohemond: ibid et n.2.

contigit, ut cum de civitate, cum maximo periculo
 evasissent, in manus Turcorum maius periculum mortis
 incurrebant.¹ Eo tempore contigerunt² nobis plurimae
 revelationes, per fratres nostros, et signum in coelo
 mirabile vidimus. Nam stella quaedam maxima, per noctem
 super civitatem stetit, quae post paululum in tres
 partes divisa est, atque in Turcorum castris³ ^a cecidit
 Confortati igitur nostri aliquantulum,⁴ diem quintum
 quem praedixerat sacerdos,⁵ ^b expectabant. Die autem
 illa,^c praeparatis necessariis, duodecim viris⁶ cum
 homine illo, qui de lancea dixerat, electis de ecclesia

1. incidebant ... A.

2. Contigerunt eo tempore ... D and J.

3. partes ... D and J.

4. igitur aliquantulum nostri ... F, H, D, J.

5. sacerdos praedixerat ... G.

6. Om. duodecim viri ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. On the night of 13/14th June, 1098.

b. vid. sup., p. 105 et n.b.

c. The Lance was found on the 14th June, 1098.

beati Petri omnibus aliis, fodere coepimus. Fuit autem in illis duodecim viris episcopus Aurasicensis,^a et Raymundus comitis capellanus, qui haec scripsit, et ipse comes, et Pontius de Baladuno, et Faraldus de Tornais.¹ b Cumque mane usque ad vesperum fodissemus,² in vespere desperare quidam de inventione lanceae coeperunt.³ Discesserat enim comes propter castelli custodiam; sed loco illius et aliorum, qui fodiendo fatigabantur, alios recentes inducebamus, qui viriliter operi insisterent. Videns autem iuuenis qui de lancea dixerat, nos defatigari, discinctus et discalciatis pedibus in camisia in foveam descendit, atque obtestatus est nos ut Deum deprecaremur, quatinus

1. Tornas ... C. Tornays ... E. Thoart ... D and J.

2. fodissent ... D and J.

3. quidam de inventione lanceae desperare ceperunt ... D and J.
quidam desperare ceperunt de inventione lanceae ... A.

- - - - -

a. The Bishop of Orange: vid. sup. p. 28 et n.a.

b. Faraldus de Thoart or Thouart: V et V, vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 309.

nobis lanceam suam redderet, in confortationem et victoriam suae plebis. Tandem per gratiam pietatis suae,¹ commonitus est² Dominus³ ut⁴ lanceam suam nobis ostendat. Et ego qui scripsi haec, cum solus mucro adhuc appareret super terram, osculatus sum eam. Quantum gaudium et exultatio tunc civitatem replevit, non possum dicere. Inventa est autem lancea octavodecimo kalendas Iulii.^a

⁵Secunda vero nocte astitit beatus Andreas iuveni, per quem nobis lanceam reddiderat, et dixit ei,^b "Ecce Deus donavit comiti quod nulli unquam⁶ donare voluit, et constituit eum vexilliferum istius exercitus, siquidem perseveraverit in

1. suae pietatis ... D and J.

2. Om. est ... D and J.

3. Deus ... C and G.

4. Om. ut ... D and J.

5. S - ecunda ... D; J also has a division at this point.

6. nulli alii ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. 14th June, 1098.

b. This was Peter Bartholomew's sixth vision: it occurred on the night of 15/16th June, 1098.

amore eius."¹ a Cumque ab eo misericordiam pro populo
 postularet iuuenis, respondit sanctus Andreas"
 quod revera Dominus² misereretur sui populi."³
 Et rursus cum quaereret ab eodem de socio⁴ quis
 esset quem totiens viderat, dixit ei beatus Andreas,
 "Accede et osculare pedem eius". Festinus itaque
 volens accedere, vidit plagam unam super pedem
 eius ita recentem, et sanguinolentam, ac si modo
 facta fuisset. Cum autem dubitaret accedere, propter
 vulnus et sanguinem, ait sanctus Andreas,

-
1. eius amore ... H.
 2. Deus ... C and G.
 3. populi sui ... D and J.
 4. socio suo ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. This last condition was later to become of very great importance: vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, pp. LXX-LXXI.

"Ecce ille pater, qui pro nobis vulneratus fuit in cruce, et haec inde plaga. Haec etiam Dominus praecipit, ut celebrem habeatis diem illum in quo lanceam suam vobis reddidit. Et quia in vespera reperta est, et non potuit dies illa celebris haberi, sequenti hebdomada in octavis, solemnitatem celebrabitis, et singulis annis deinceps, in die inventionis ipsius lanceae.¹ Haec quoque dices ad eos,² ut continerent se sicut epistola docet fratris mei Petri, quae hodie legetur. Et epistola fuit haec, Humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei.³ Et cotidie clerici ante lanceam cantent hunc hymnum,

1. Ecce ille pater, qui etc ... ipsius lanceae ... omitted in mss. A, C, E, F, G and H, and inserted later: vid. inf. p. 114, n.3. This seems to have been a peculiar error of ∞ : vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, pp. CLXIV-CLXV.

2. ad illos ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. I Peter, V, 6: Humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei ... etc.

Lustra sex qui iam peregit,¹ tempus implens corporis² a
Et cum dixerint Agnus in cruce levatus³ immolandum
stipite,^b flexis genibus, hymnum finiant." Cum autem ad
 haec episcopus Aurasiciensis et ego quaereremus
 si sciret litteras, respondit, "Nescio", existimans
 si diceret "Scio", non crederemus.⁴ Et erat aliquan-
 tulum sciens, sed in ipsa hora ita ignoravit, ut

-
1. peracta ... all.
 2. tempus etc. Om. ... D and J.
 3. levatur ... D and J.
 4. "Scio" nunquam (quid ... ?) crederemus ... F and H.
- - - - -

- a. This is the first line of the sixth verse of the famous hymn of Fortunatus (530-609) Pange, lingua, gloriosi, praelium certaminis: the variant peracta appears to be unknown: Connelly, Hymns of the Roman Liturgy (London, 1954) pp. 82-84, ref. Hymn 53. The section of the hymn, of which this is the opening line, is used at the Lauds of Passiontide, on Feasts of the Cross, and for the Adoration of the Holy Cross on Good Friday: *ibid.*
- b. The last line of the sixth verse of Pange, lingua.

nec litteras cognosceret, neque aliquid eorum quae litteris didicerat memor esset^a exceptis Pater noster, et Credo in Deum et¹ Magnificat et Gloria in excelsis Deo et Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.^b

Cetera enim ita perdidit, ac si nunquam ea audisset, et licet cum maximo labore, pauca postea recuperare potuit.²

³Inter haec autem, tanta fames in civitate fuit, ut excepta lingua, caput equinum

1. Om. et ... F and H.

2. labore postea recuperare potuit ... C and G.

3. ... recuperare potuit. Ecce ille pater, qui etc ... ipsius lanceae: inserted at this point in A, C, E, F, G and H: vid. sup. p. 112 et n.1.

a. At a later stage we hear of Peter Bartholomew asking Christ for the return of his knowledge of letters: vid. inf., p. 228 et n.b.

b. This in itself was probably far above the number of prayers committed to memory by a medieval peasant, and supports the suggestion that Peter may have had some training for the clergy: vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, p. XLV.

duobus vel tribus solidis venderetur; intestina vero caprae, quinque solidis; gallina, octo vel novem¹ solidis. De pane quid dicam, quod² quinque solidi non sufficerent ad pellendum³ famem unius? Nec erat mirum, nec grave esse poterat his qui tam care mercabantur, cum auro et argento et palliis abundarent.^a Haec autem ideo cara erant, quia conscientiae militum, possessae criminibus,⁴ audacia carebant. Ficus autem immaturas ab arboribus decerpebant, atque quodlibet karissime vendebant. Coria vero bovum et equorum et alia neglecta ex longo tempore, illa⁵ similiter diu cocta, karissime vendebantur, adeo ut duas solidatas comedere quilibet⁶ posset.

1. VII vel octo ... C and G.

2. cum ... D and J.

3. ad depellendum ... F and H.

4. Om. possessae criminibus ... D and J.

5. ita ... G.

6. quilibet comedere ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Raymond is saying, in effect, that the camp was suffering from inflation!

Plerique milites sanguine suorum equorum vivebant; exspectantes Dei misericordiam, nolebant eos occidere adhuc.¹ Haec autem et alia mala multa² obsessis imminebant, quae enumerare difficile est. Accedebat etiam aliud satis grave, quod quidam de nostris ad Turcos fugiebant, et miseriam quae erat in civitate eos docebant. His atque³ aliis rebus Turci audaces effecti, vehementissime nobis imminebant. Die autem quadam media, in turrem unam de nostris ascenderant circiter triginta Turci, quod⁴ nostros satis exhoruerunt. Tamen nostri pro periculo certantes Dei adiutorio, alios occiderunt, alios praecipitari coegerunt. Ob hanc igitur causam omnes Buamundo⁵ obedientiam promiserunt, usque ad quindecim dies post bellum, ut de custodia civitatis, et de bello ipse disponderet. Nam comes valde infirmabatur, et⁶ episcopus;

1. eos adhuc occidere ... D and J. occidere eos adhuc ... C.

2. multa mala ... D and J.

3. His autem atque ... D and J.

4. qui ... A, C, E, D and J.

5. causam Buamundo omnes ... A.

6. Om. et ... A, C, E, D and J.

Stephanus¹ ^a comes, quem ante captam civitatem pro dictatore alii principes elegerant,^b audiens famam belli, aufugerat. Sicut diximus, nostris² devictis et depressis, et angustiatis, coeleste auxilium adfuit. Et quomodo ante bellum et in bello agere deberemus, beatus Andreas per iuvenem illum qui de lancea dixerat, edocuit.^c "Offendistis"³ omnes graviter, et ideo humiliati estis, et clamastis ad Dominum et exaudivit vos⁴ Dominus. Et nunc

1. Stephanus autem ... D and J.

2. ita devictis ... D and J.

3. "Offendistis", inquit, "Omnes ... D and J.

4. nos ... C, E, F, G, H, D and J.

a. Stephen, Count of Chartres and Blois: he died on 17th May, 1102 at the second battle of Ascalon: Setton and Baldwin, op.cit., Chap. XI, The Crusade of 1101, J.L. Galt, p. 365.

b. According to his own account Stephen was made quartermaster of the army: cuncti principes ... me dominum suum atque omnium actuum suorum provisorem atque gubernatorem ... me constituerunt: Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, I, p. 149.

c. This was Peter Bartholemew's seventh vision; it occurred about the 20th June 1098 (Hagenmeyer does not date it).

unusquisque pro suis offensis¹ se² Deo³ converterat,⁴
 et quinque eleemosynas faciat, propter quinque plagas
 Domini.^a Quod si haec nequiverit, quinques dicat
Pater noster. His peractis,⁵ in ea sententia qua
 convenient principes de bello, incipite in nomine
 Domini per⁶ diem sive per noctem, quia manus Domini
 erit vobiscum. Si quis autem de victoria dubitat,
 aperiantur ei portae, et vadat ad Turcos, et videbit
 quomodo Deus illorum salvum faciet illum. Si autem
 pugnare aliquis recusaverit, sit cum Iuda proditore
 Domini, qui apostolos deservit, et Dominum suum Iudaeis
 vandidit. Pugnent⁷ vere in fide beati Petri, tenentes
 quod Deus sibi⁸ promisit, quod post tertium diem
 resurgeret et ei appareret, et pro hac etiam causa,
 quod haec terra iuris beati Petri sit, et non

-
1. offensis suis ... G.
 2. nunc pro suis offensis unusquisque se ... D and J.
 3. Domino ... D and J.
 4. committat ... D and J.
 5. His ita peractis ... G, E, D and J.
 6. sive per ... G.
 7. pugnam ... A, F and H.
 8. Christus sibi ... D and J. sibi Deus ... A.

- - - - -

- a. The theme of the Five Wounds of Christ will appear again in a later vision of Peter Bartholemew: vid. inf. p. 222 et seq.

paganorum. Et sit signum clamoris vestri DEUS ADIUVA,
et revera Deus adiuvabit vos. Omnes¹ fratres vestri
qui obierunt, ab incepto itinere, aderunt vobiscum
in hac pugna, et vos expugnatæ decimam partem hostium,
quia ipsi in virtute et iussione² Dei, novem partes
expugnabunt. Et ne differatis de bello³ quoniam
totidem hostes ab altero latere adducet Dominus,
quot habetis ab uno et tam diu vos hic tenebit
inclusos, donec alii alios comedant.⁴ Sed scitote
profecto, quia advenerunt dies illi, quos promisit
Dominus beatæ Mariæ⁵ et apostolis suis, quod
elevaret regnum Christianorum, delecto et conculcato
paganorum regno. Ad tentoria vero⁶ eorum propter
aurum et⁷ argentum ne divertatis."

1. Omnes etiam ... D and J.

2. Om. et iussione ... D and J.

3. de bello. Subauditur si non egeritis quæ dico. Quoniam:
marginal insertion in D and J (p. 153).

4. alii comedant alios ... D and J.

5. beatæ semper Virgini Mariæ ... D and J.

6. Om. vero ... D and J.

7. vel ... F and H.

Patuit¹ tunc Dei potentia, ut qui nobis per apostolum suum supra dicta praedicari iussit, corda omnium adeo confortavit, ut fide et spe iam se triumphasse quisque sibi² de hostibus suis videretur. Adhortabantur alii alios, et adhortando vires pugnandi resumebant. Vulgus etiam,³ quod diebus praeteritis inopia atque formidine consumptum esse videbatur, principes modo conviciabatur querendo⁴ de belli dilatione. Constituta autem die ad pugnam, miserunt principes⁵ nostri Petrum Heremitam ad Corbagat ducem Turcorum, ut desisteret ab oppugnatione civitatis, quia iuris erat beati Petri et Christianorum,⁶ Respondit ille

1. S - tatuit ... D: J also has a division at this point.

2. Om. sibi ... D and J.

3. autem ... H.

4. Om. querendo ... D and J.

5. Om. principes ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. It is possible that in the course of the Embassy Peter also suggested that a tournament between limited numbers of both sides should decide the fate of Antioch: vid. inf. p. 127 et n.a.

superbus quia iure vel iniuria Francos¹ et civitatem habere volebat. Atque Peterum Heremitam inclinare nolentem, supplicare sibi coegit.

²Quaesitum est eo tempore quis civitatem custodiret contra illos qui in castello erant, dum alii ad pugnam progredierentur. Fecerunt³ in colle nostri montis,⁴ contra hostes murum calceum,^a et propugnacula, et munierunt haec multis petrariis, et dimiserunt ibi Raymundum comitem, qui usque ad mortem infirmabatur, et viros usque ducentos.

1. quia iure iniuria vel Francos ... A, F and H.

2. Q - uaesitum ... D: J also has a division at this point.

3. Et fecerunt ... D and J.

4. colle montis nostri ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. According to the Anonymous, (Gesta, ed. Hill, Lib. IX, xxiii, p. 57) this wall was built at a much earlier stage in the siege.

Ubi exierunt ad bellum.¹

Ventum erat ad diem pugnae. Mane communica-
verunt omnes, et se Deo dederunt, ad² mortem si

1. Om. ... A, D, F, H and J.

... ducentos. De epistola quam totius turma principum
exercitus Romae Urbano papa desererunt; Capitulo XXII.
Ubi obsederant civitates Barram et Marram, et obtinu-
erunt eas; Capitulo XXIII. Ubi venerunt ad oppidum
Archados. XX quatro. Having taken the story by
Fulcher down to the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem,
the manuscript returns to the work of Raymond of Aguilers:

Principes nostri man-
dant per Petrum Heremitum Corbagath diem pugnae, non
terram Christianis dimitteret, et exierunt ad bellum.
E - t quia non est omittendum plusquam obvenerunt ante
obsidionem Iherosolimitan, sed ad eam proseguendam,
enarendum est ad die pugnae contra Corbgath. Et ideo
Franci mane communicaverunt ... E.

2. vel ad ... D and J.

vellet, vel ad decus Romanae ecclesiae et gentis Francorum.¹ Constituerunt autem de bello sic; ut de gente comitis et episcopi fierent duo ordines duplices; ut pedites praecirent² militibus, et pro imperio principum irent et starent;³ et milites sequerentur eos,^a atque a tergo custodirent. De gente Boamundi et Tancredi similiter; de gente comitis Normanniae, et Francigenis similiter; de gente ducis et Burgundionibus similiter. Ibant autem praecoones per civitatem clamantes unusquisque⁴ homo principibus de sua⁵ gente adhaereret. Mandatum est etiam ut Hugo Magnus et

-
1. C - onstituerunt ... D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. praecirent pedites ... G.
 3. starent et irent ... A.
 4. ut quisque ... D and J. ut unusquisque ... C.
 5. Om. sua ... C, E, F, G and H.

- - - - -

- a. Discussing the tactics employed at this battle, Smail remarks: The infantry were arrayed in front of the knights so that they stood between the knights and the enemy. For the first time on a Syrian battlefield they were posted in a battle station which was to be normal to them throughout the century: Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, (Cantab. 1956), Chap. VI, iv, p. 173.

comes Flandrensis et Normanniae,¹ primi ad bella
 procederent; deinde dux; post ducem episcopus; post
 episcopum Boamundus.² Congregati sunt³ unusquisque
 ad signum et cognationem suam, infra civitatem ante
 portam pontis; O quam beata gens, cuius est Dominus
Deus eius' O quam beatus populus, quem Deus elegit!^a
 A quam immutatam faciem huius exercitus, a tristitia
 in alacritatem! Quippe,⁴ praeteritis diebus, ibant
 per plateas civitatis, Dei auxilium appellantes
 ad ecclesias, principes et nobiles, et hi qui erant
 de populo nudis pedibus lacrymantes, et pectora⁵
 percutientes, adeo tristes, ut pater filium obvium
 non resalutaret, neque respiceret neque frater fratrem. Modo
 vero cerneret eos alacres equos emittere, excutere arma

1. Normanniae comes ... D and J.

2. episcopus; deinde sequeretur eos Boimundus ... D and J.

3. sunt ergo ... D and J.

4. ... alacritatem. Cuius quippe ... D and J.

5. pectora sua ... D and J.

a. PsalmCXLIII, 19-21.

et vibrare hastas, nec posse pati quietem, quin dictu vel opere aliquid iocundum facerent vel dicerent.

Sed cur pluribus moror? Concessa est potestas illis egrediendi¹ et quae a principibus consulta fuerant, ordine complentur. Inter haec dux Turcorum Corbagath infra tentorium suum scaccis² a ludebat, et accepto nuntio quod Franci ad pugnam progredierentur, turbatus animo, quod praeter spem haec audiebat, appellavit quemdam Turcum qui de Antiochia aufugerat, nomine Mirdalin,³ nobilem et nobis notum per militiam suam,⁴ et dixit ei, "Quid hoc est."⁵ Nonne tu mihi dixeras⁶ quia⁷ Franci erant pauci⁸ et nunquam necum

-
1. Concessa est illis egrediendi potestas ... D and J.
 2. schachis ... D and J.
 3. quendam Turcum nomine Miredalin, qui de Antiochia aufugerat ... D and J.
 4. nobilem et per militiam suam nobis notum ... A.
 5. "Quid est hoc" ... D and J.
 6. dixisti ... D and J.
 7. quod ... G.
 8. pauci erant ... D and J.
- - - - -

- a. Other sources recount this story of the chess game: vid. inf. Appendix III, pp. CCLVI - CCLVII.

pugnarent?" Et respondit ei Mirdalim, "Non dixi quod non pugnarent, sed veni et videbo^{1^{as}} et dicam tibi, si poteris eos facile superare." Etiam tertius ordo de nostris² progrediebatur. Cumque vidisset ordinum dispositiones, Mirdalin dixit ad Corbagath, "Occidi quidem isti possunt, sed verti in fugam nequeunt". Et tunc Corbagath illi³ "Nulli eorum propelli aliquatenus possunt?" Et respondit Mirdalim, "Non quantum planta pedis habet, cedent, si omnis gens⁴ paganorum eis incurrat." Tunc ille licet turbatus, ordines multos et multiplices instruit adversum nos. Et cum primo potuissent exitum nobis prohibere, pacifice exire permittebant. Nostri autem tantum⁵ acies suas versus montana dirigebant, caventes ne nos incingerent a tergo. Erant autem montana a ponte,⁶ quasi duobus magnis milliaribus.

-
1. sed veni et vide ... D.
 2. de nostris ... Om. D and J.
 3. dixit illi ... G.
 4. omne genus ... D and J.
 5. Nostri tamen ... C, D and J.
 6. Longe a ponte ... D and J.

Procedebamus ita spaciosi, sicut in processionibus clericici pergere solent. Et revera nobis processio erat. Etenim sacerdotes et multi monachi, induti stolis albis¹ ante acies militum nostrorum pergebant, Dei adiutorium et sanctorum patrum² inia invocando cantantes. At contra, hostes nobis incurrebant et sagittabant.² Mandavit etiam Corbagath ad principes nostros, paratus erat³ facere modo quod nuper abnegavit, ut quinque vel⁴ decem Turci cum totidem Francis decertarent,⁵ et quorum milites vincerentur, pacifice aliis cederent. Responderunt ad haec nostri, "Noluistis, cum hoc voluimus;^a nunc autem quia properavimus nos ad pugnam, decertent singuli pro suo iure."

1. albis stolis ... D and J.

2. nobis incurrere volebant et sagittabant ... D and J.

3. Om. erta ... G.

4. et ... C, E and G.

5. decem Turci pugnarent cum totidem Francis ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. From this it would seem that an offer had been made by the Franks of a limited conflict to settle the fate of Antioch, perhaps in the embassy of Peter the Hermit: vid. sup. p. 120 et n.a.

¹Cumque ut diximus, planitiem totam occupa-
vissemus, quaedam pars Turcorum post nos remansit,
atque quibusdam² peditibus nostris incurrit. Pedites
vero illi, facto gyro, impetum hostium sustinuerunt
viriliter.³ Cum vero⁴ Turci nullo modo eos pro-
pellere possent, ignem circa eos accenderunt, ut
qui gladios non formidabant, saltem ab igne corrip-
erentur. Itaque cedere eos compulerunt:
habebat enim locus ille foenum multum et siccum.
Egressis namque⁵ ordinibus, stabant sacerdotes nudis
pedibus et induti sacerdotalibus vestimentis⁶ supra
muros civitatis, Deum invocantes ut populum suum
defenderet, atque testamentum quod sanguine suo
sancivit, in hoc bello per victoriam Francorum testi-
ficaretur. In hoc autem spatio quod processimus

-
1. C - umque ... D: J. also has a division at this point.
 2. Om. quibusdam ... D and J.
 3. viriliter sustinuerunt ... D and J.
 4. Cum vero ... E, F, G and H. Om. vero ... D and J.
 5. itaque ... D and J.
 6. induti vestimentis sacerdotalibus ... C and G.

a ponte usque ad montana, maxime laboravimus
 propter hoc quod ipsi hostes volebant nos
 accingere.¹ Inter haec, licet maiores hostium
 ordines, nobis qui in turma episcopi eramus
 incumberent, tamen per praesidium dominicae
 Lanceae quae ibi erat, nullum ibi² vulneraverunt,
 sed neque sagittam nobis intorserunt.
 Vidi ego qui haec quae loquor³ et⁴ dominicam
 lanceam ibi ferebam. Quod si quis dicat⁵

.

-
1. nos volebant accingere ... D and J.
 2. Om. ibi ... C.
 3. Vidi haec ego qui loquor ... G.
 4. Om. et ... D and E.
 5. Om. dicat ... D and J: both manuscripts place the word later; vulneratum fuisse dicat, sciat ...: vid. p. 130, et n.l.

Heraclium vicecomitem,^a vexilliferum episcopi, in hoc bello vulneratum fuisse,¹ sciat quod et vexillum suum alii tradiderat, et ordinem nostrum longe reliquerat. Ut vero omnes viri bellatores de civitate progressi² sunt, apparuerunt nobis³ quinque aliae acies inter nos. Etenim ut iam dictum

1. fuisse dicat ... D and J.

2. egressi ... D and J.

3. Om. nobis ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Heracle, of Polignac (near Le Puy) brother of Pons, vice-count of Polignac, and uncle of Pierre and Pons of Fay-Chapteuil (V et V, vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 290) killed earlier in the crusade: vid. sup. p. 10 et n.c. He had been a relation of Stephen, Bishop of Clermont, the notorious simoniac: vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, pp. XIV-XV et n.3. As he was the standard-bearer of Adhémar, his carrying the lance argues that the Bishop, despite early doubts (vid. sup. p. 100) had given some recognition to the relic. Raymond later (p. 241 et n.a.) says that Heracle was wounded in the face, but the Provençal Chanson d'Antioch gives a slightly different account: vid. inf. Appendix III, p. CCLVIII; Heraclius later appears in a vision: vid. inf., p. 241 et n.a.

est, octo acies nostri principes tantum constituerant,
 et tredecim ordines extra civitatem fuimus.¹
 Hoc unum² valde memorabile non praetereamus. In principio
 egressionis³ ad pugnam, imbrem divinum super omnem
 exercitum suum inmisit Dominus, parvum sed gratum,⁴
 quo qui tactus est, omni gratia repletus et
 fortitudine et hostes contemnebat, et quasi in deliciis
 regis semper enutritus exilliebat. Non minus hoc idem
 mirabile, equis nostris contigit. Cui enim defecit equus
 suus, nisi peracta pugna, etiam si non gustaverit aliquid
 praeter cortices et folia arborum per octo dies.⁵ Multipli-
 cavit adeo⁶ Deus⁷ exercitum nostrum, ut, qui ante pugnam
 pauciores hostibus esse videbamur⁸ in bello plures

-
1. fuerunt ... D and J.
 2. Hoc enim ... E and H.
 3. egressionis nostrae ... D and J.
 4. sed tam gratum ... D and J.
 5. VII dies ... A, D and J.
 6. insuper adeo ... D and J.
 7. Dominus ... D and J.
 8. pauciores quam hostes, in bello: ... D and J. The subjunctive construction is characteristic of the manuscripts of the \mathcal{C} tradition: vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLX.

eis fuimus.¹ Itaque nostris progressis et dispositis, non licuit nobis committere pugnam² et ipsi³ versi sunt in fugam.⁴ Persecuti sunt eos nostri, usque ad occasum solis. Operabatur ibi mirabiliter Dominus, tam in viris, quam in equis nostris. Quippe viri, avaritia a bello non recovabantur, et illi equi famelici, quos vix domini sui in proelium pascendo deduxerant, levissime equos Turcorum, pingues et currentissimos, modo consequabantur. Nec gaudium hoc solum⁵ voluit habere nos⁶ Dominus. Etenim Turci qui castellum de civitate munerant, videntes suorum praecipitem fugam, desperantes, alii⁷ tantum pacti vitam se nostris reddiderunt; alii praecipites fugerunt. Et licet bellum hoc tam atrox⁸ atque timidum esset, tamen pauci milites de hostibus ibi ceciderunt. Sed de peditibus eorum vix aliquis

-
1. in bello eis plures sumus ... G.
 2. pugnam committere ... A.
 3. Quoniam ipsi ... D and J.
 4. Om. in fugam ... E, F, G and H.
 5. Nec hoc solum gaudium ... D and J.
 6. nos habere ... D and J.
 7. alii autem ... A.
 8. licet hoc bellum atrox ... C.

evasit. Omnia autem temptoria hostium¹ capta sunt,
et auri et argenti multum et spoliolum plurimum.

Annonae vero et pecorum et² camelorum, sine mensura
et numero. Renovatumque est nobis illud Samariae, de
mensura similaginis et hordei, quae statere³

accipiebantur.^a Facta sunt autem haec in vigilia
apostolorum Petri et Pauli,^b quibus intercessoribus
Iesus Christus Dominus noster⁴ contulit hanc

victoriam peregrinae ecclesiae Francorum, qui

vivit et manet cum servis suis, ~~Deus per omnia~~⁵ propitius Dominus per

cuncta⁵ saecula saeculorum: AMEN.

1. temptoria eorum ... D and J.

2. ac ... C, D, E and J.

3. pro statere ... D and J.

4. Dominus noster Iesus Christus ... D.

5. per omnia ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. IV Regum, VII, 18.

b. The 28th June, 1098.

(Ubi obiit Ademarus episcopus Podiensis et ubi
apparuit ipse Petro Bartholomeo secunda
nocte qua defunctus fuit.)¹

Factum est autem post victoriam quod principes
nostri, Boamundus et comes et dux et² comes Flandrensis³

-
1. A, C and G have a gap left here for a heading, and a capital (F - actum); this heading is taken from the Index Capitulorum of F: vid. sup. p. 3. Om. D and J: ... AMEN. F - actum ... D: J also has a division at this point. Om. P, H: AMEN. XI. F - actum. Amen. Ubi obiit Episcopus Podiensis et de multae revelationibus factis in itinere Iherosolimitana; C^o XXVIO. ... E.
 2. Om. et ... C.
 3. Flandrensis comes ... D and J.

castrum¹ civitatis receperunt;² sed Boamundus altiores turres suscepit, iam tum³ dolorem concipiens⁴ quo⁵ protulit iniquitatem. Etenim consequenter homines ducis et Flandrensis et comitis sancti Aegidii violenter de castello expulit, dicens se iurasse⁶ illi Turco qui civitatem reddidit, quod ipse solus⁷ haberet eam. Ob hoc etiam, quia impune id commiserat, castella civitatis et portas quas⁸ comes et episcopus et dux, tempore⁹ quo obsessi¹⁰ fueraus servaverant, requirere coepit. Concesserunt ei omnes¹¹ praeter¹² comitem. Ille enim licet infirmus esset, tamen portam pontis, nec prece

-
1. communiter castrum ... D and J.
 2. acceperunt ... G.
 3. iam tunc ... D and J.
 4. concipiens dolorem ... D and J.
 5. quod ... A, C . qui ... D, J.
 6. iurasse se ... C.
 7. Om. solus ... C.
 8. quas ... D and J.
 9. ex tempore ... D, J. dux dux tempore ... G.
 10. obsessi quo ... F and H.
 11. enim omnes ... C.
 12. Concesserunt ei praeter ... D.

nec promissis nec minis dimittere voluit. Nec solum principes nostros eo tempore discordia concussit; verum etiam populi gratiam ita dissoluit, ut pauci essent, qui non cum sociis vel domesticis suis,¹ de furti vel rapinae causis concertarent. Nec in civitate iudex aliquis erat qui posset vel vellet discurrere² causas, sed quantum quisque poterat, eo modus iniuriae venit. Comes autem et episcopus valde infirmabaturⁿ, et tueri suos ab iniuria minime poterant.³ Sed quid moram in his agimus? Quippe nostri otio et divitiis remissi, de itinere propter quod venerant, usque in kalendas novembris contra Dei praeceptum, distulerunt. Etenim eo tempore, ita territae atque confectae, timore Sarracenorum civitates in fuga Turcorum fuerunt, ut si tunc equitassent nostri Franci, non esset usque in Iherusalem civitas, quae lapidem, ut nos credimus, eis remitteret. Interea dominus episcopus Ademarus Podiensis,⁴ dilectus Deo et

1. Om. suis ... C and E.

2. dirimere ... D and J.

3. infirmabaturⁿ. Nec tueri eos ab iniuria poterant ... D and J.

4. dominus Ademarus episcopus Podiensis ... D and J.

hominibus, vir per omnia omnibus carus, die kalendarum Augusti^a in pace migravit ad Dominum. Tantusque luctus omnium Christianorum in morte¹ eius fuit, ut nos qui vidimus, cum pro magnitudine rerum scribere curavimus, comprehendere aliquatenus nequivimus. Quantum utilis² autem Dei exercitui et principibus fuerat, post mortem eius manifestum fuit, cum inter se divisi principes, Boamundus in Romaniam^b est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roias profectus est.

³Sepulto igitur episcopo in ecclesia beati Petri Antiochiae, secunda nocte adstitit Dominus Iesus cum beato Andrea et ipso eodem

1. christianorum ibi morantium ... J. christianorum
in ibi morantium ... D.

2. Quam utilis ... D and J.

3. S - epulto ... D.

- - - - -

a. Adhémar died on the 1st August, 1098.

b. Presumably meaning Cilicia.

episcopo, Petro illi Bartholomeo^a qui de lancea dixerat, in capella comitis, ubi lancea Domini erat.^b Et loquutus est ei episcopus dicens, "Gratias Deo, et vobis¹ omnibus fratribus meis, et Boamundo, qui me de inferno liberaverunt. Etenim peccavi graviter postquam lancea Domini² reperta est. Ob hoc itaque in infernum deductus sum atque ibi flagellatus acerrime, et caput meum et facies combusta sunt, sicut videre potes. Fuit ibi³ anima mea, ab hora qua de corpore egressa est, donec corpusculum meum pulveri traditum est. Reddidit mihi Dominus, inter ipsa flammaram incendia, vestimentum quod vides; quia cum episcopatus ordinem suscepi, illud⁴ pro Deo

-
1. Om. vobis ... D and J.
 2. Lancea domini ... D and J.
 3. Fuit autem ibi ... D and J.
 4. illud quidam ... A.

- - - - -
- a. This is the first time that Raymond names the visionary who found the Holy Lance.
 - b. This was Peter's eighth vision: it occurred on the night of the 3rd/4th August, 1098.

cuidam pauperi tribui. Et licet exaestuaret gehenna, et insanirent adversum me ministri Tartarei, nihil tamen subtus laedere potuerunt. Nihil¹ de omnibus, quae de patria mea detuli, adeo mihi profuit sicut haec candela, quam amici mei hic pro me obtulerunt, et illi tres denarii, quos ego lanceae obtuli.² Haec etenim me refecerunt, cum usque ad mortem esuriens de inferno progrederer. Dominus meus Boamundus dixit quod corpus meum in Iherusalem portaret. Sit illi pro gratia sua ne me moveat, quia de sanguine Domini adhuc ibi est, cui me sociavit. Sed si dubitat de his quae tibi dico, aperiat sepulcrum meum, et faciem meum³ perusta videbit.⁴ Domino meo comiti familiam meam commisi; benefaciat ei, ut Deus faciat secum misericordiam, et adimpleat quae illi promisit. Et ne doleant, fratres mei, si ego vitam finivi, quoniam nunquam eis profui tantum quantum⁵ prodero, si praecepta Dei servare

1. Tamen nihil ... D and J.

2. illi tres etc ... Om. D.

3. sepulchrum et caput et faciem meum ... D and J.

4. videbit perustam ... D and J.

5. nunquam tantum eis profui, quantum ... D and J.

voluerint. Etenim cum illis habitabo, et omnes fratres mei qui vitam, ut ego, finierunt, et eis apparebo, et multo melius quam hactenus consiliabor eos.¹

Et vos, fratres mei, estote memores poenarum inferni, quae tam graves et horrendae sunt. Servite itaque Deo,² qui vos³ liberare potest de his, atque aliis malis. Et quam⁴ bene natus, qui inferni poenas ignorabit. Poterit hoc illis conferre Salvator, qui praecepta eius servaverint. Quod superaverit de hac candela in mane, conserva. Et eligat comes cum quibus ipse voluerit, episcopum loco mei, quoniam non est iustum, ut si ego defunctus sum, beata Maria⁵ episcopum non habeat.^a Unum⁶ de palliis meis, donate ad ecclesiam sancti⁷ Andreae. Et beatus Andreas

1. melius consolabor eis quam actenus ... D and J.

2. Domino ... A, C, D and J.

3. Om. vos ... C.

4. Et o quam ... D and J.

5. beata semper Virgo Maria ... D and J.

6. Unde ... G.

7. beati ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. The Count evidently did not take this advice; the See of Le Puy was not filled again till 1102, when Pontius de Tournon (1102-1105?) was appointed: P.B. Gams, op. cit., p. 604.

supplicavit ei. Post haec beatus Andreas assistens proprius taliter locutus est, "Audiant omnes quid per me loquitur Dominus", Memor¹ esto comes, illius doni quod tibi tradidit Dominus, quae operaris, in nomine eius operare, ut Dominus facta et dicta tua dirigat,² et orationem tuam³ exaudiat. Prius donum⁴ quod vobis contulit Dominus, scilicet Nicaea, est avera ab eo. Deus⁵ donavit vobis suam civitatem et⁶ abstulit eam inimicis vestris, et postea non fuit ibi cognitus. Et si aliquis nomen Domini invocavit, ibi fuit flagellatus,⁷ et opera Domini non fuerunt ibi facta. Et⁸ propter bonitatem suam noluit vos derelinquere Dominus, quin concederet vobis ea⁹ quae petitis, et plus etiam quam¹⁰ quaerere ausi estis. Ille enim vobis lanceam contulit,¹¹ quae corpus suum plagavit,

-
1. ... loquitur Deus, dicens, "Memor ... D and J.
 2. ut dominus facta tua et dirigat et dicta et ... A.
ut dominus facta tua et dirigat ... C and G.
 3. orationes tuas ... D and J.
 4. Primum donum ... D and J.
 5. Dominus ... D and J.
 6. vobis hanc civitatem et ... D and J.
 7. aliquis ibi invocavit nomen Domini flagellatus ... D and J.
 8. sed ... D and J.
 9. ea vobis ... D and J.
 10. Om. quam ... G.
 11. Ille enim lanceam contulit vobis ... D and J.

unde sanguis nostrae redemptionis effluxit. Et non donavit vobis ita facere de hac civitate, sicut de altera fecistis, et videre potestis quia pro meritis vestris, non donavit eam vobis Dominus.¹ Mandat tibi, O comes, Dominus,² ut sapias qui se dominum huius civitatis voluerit facere super alios, et quaere ab eo quale dominium voluerit portare³ propter Dominum. Quod si tu et alii fratres tui, quibus Deus hanc civitatem donavit,⁴ cognoveritis quod fidelis sit, et iusticiam Dei tenere voluerit, habeat.⁵ Et si iusticiam et iudicium noluerit facere et tenere,⁶ sed per potestatem suam vult tenere civitatem, tu per te

1. Om. dominus ... D.

2. Mandat tibi Dominus, O comes ... D and J.

3. volebat portare ... F and H.

4. Deus dedit hanc civitatem ... D and J. Civitatem hanc donavit ... H.

5. Om. habeat ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

6. ... sit, et iusticiam tenere vel facere (Om. vel facere ... D) voluerit, habeat. Et si iudicium vel iusticiam tenere vel facere noluerit ... D and J.

et per fratres tuos postula consilium a Deo¹ et
 Deus dabit tibi.² Et illi homines qui via recta
 venerunt,³ vel Deum diligunt, tibi non deficient.
 Illi autem qui nolunt tenere viam rectam,⁴
 revertantur ad illum qui noluit tenere iustitiam,
 et videbitur quomodo Deus salvabit illos. Sed
 habebunt maledictionem, ex parte Dei et matris
 eius, illam quam habuit Lucifer cum de coelo
 cecidit. Et vos, si unanimes sitis,⁵ postulate
 consilium in oratione, et Deus dabit vobis.
 Et si concordia sit inter vos, tenete consilium
 de Patriarcha qui sit de vestra lege.⁶ a Illos autem
 homines qui de captivitate ad vos venerunt

-
1. postula a Deo consilium ... D and J.
 2. et dabit tibi Deus ... D and J.
 3. qui viam rectam tenent ... D and J.
 4. qui viam rectam tenere nolunt ... D and J.
 5. unanimes estis ... D and J. Et sic vos unanimes sitis
 ... H.
 6. lege vestra

 a. Antioch at this time still had an Orthodox Patriarch:
 vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section III, p.
 XXXIII et n.4.

ut legem vestram tenerent, nolite solvere illos.¹
 Sed illos² qui ambulaverunt in Corrozanam, ut
 Deum Turcorum adorarent, nolite recipere, sed
 habete eos sicut³ Turcos, et mittite duos vel tres⁴
 ex his in carcerem, et ipsi demonstrabunt vobis
 alios. Postquam autem suprascripta facta fuerint,⁵
 petite a Domino consilium de via propter quam
 venistis,⁶ et ille bene consiliabitur⁷ vobis.
 Iherusalem est prope vos decem dies, et si non
 vultis tenere suprascripta,⁸ de decem annis non
 ibitis in Iherusalem.^a Et post decem annos reducam

1. solvere eos ... D and J.

2. Sed et illos ... D and J.

3. nolite recipere eos sed habete sicut ... D and J.

4. V el III ... F and H.

5. postquam ista a vobis fuerint acta, ... D and J.

6. de via pro qua venistis ... C, D and J.

7. consulet ... D and J.

8. supradicta ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Iherusalem est prope vos etc. ... this is reminiscent
 of Numeri XIV, 34.

infideles in honore, et centum de illis¹
 praevallebunt adversus mille de vobis.^a Et vos,
 homines Christi, petite a Domino petitionem quam
 Apostoli petierunt, et sicut illis² donavit, et
 nunc ita vobis donabit.³ Comes et Boamundus
 ite ad ecclesiam beati Andreae, et ille dabit⁴
 vobis optimum consilium apud Deum. Et quod in
 corde vestro posuerit Deus, illud facite. Et
 postquam visitaverit⁵ vos beatus Andreas,
 visitate illum et facite ut fratres vestri
 visitent illum. Inter vos, comes et Boamundus
 sit concordia et dilectio Dei et proximi.

1. Om. de illis ... D.

2. sicut et illis ... D and J.

3. ita et vobis nunc donabit ... D and J. ita et nunc vobis
 donabit. CG.

4. donabit ... D and J.

5. visitavit ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. et centum de illis etc. ... Reminiscent of Leviticus
 XXVI, 8.

Et si bene¹ vos duos² concordaveritis, nulla res poterit vos dissipare.³ Primam iustitiam quam debetis facere, decet demonstrare. Sicut sunt homines de singulis episcopis suis⁴ profiteantur divitias suas, et adiuvent pauperes de cognatione⁵ sua, prout poterunt, et necesse fuerit. Alias autem sicut concordaveritis, facite. Quod si hanc et alias iustitias tenere noluerint, vos eos constringite. Et si aliquis aliam civitatem retinere voluerit,⁶ de his quas vobis Deus⁷ dabit,⁸ secundum suprascripta, facite ut se contineat. Si autem facere noluerit, comes cum filiis Dei eos flagellet." Haec vero dicta,⁹ primum credita, deinde

1. et sic bene ... A.

2. Om. duos ... C, D and J.

3. res vos poterit dissipare ... C.

4. Om. suis ... D.

5. de patria ... D and J.

6. tenere voluerit ... D and J.

7. Om. Deus ... C.

8. quas dabit vobis Deus ... D and J.

9. Om. dicta ... D and J.

oblita sunt. Etenim alii dicebant, "Reddamus civitatem imperatori": alii autem non.¹ Atque sic per huiusmodi discordias et seditiones, res pauperum annullatae sunt. De hoc consilio quod acceperunt principes apud sanctum Andream² nihil fuit.³

-
1. alii autem non. Cum vero Petrus morte perurgeretur apud obsidionem Archados, advocavit comitem et dixit ei, "Cum veneris etc. ... Dominus ei mitteret. This passage, comprising in fact the instructions given by Peter Bartholemew for the disposal of the Lance, given from his deathbed, are included here in mss. A, C, E, F, G and H. This has seemed to me a peculiar reading of ∞ , so this passage has been restored to what appears to have been its original position, as found in mss. B, D and J: vid. inf., pp. 273-275, n.1. For a discussion of the importance of this alteration, vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, pp. CXLVI-CXLVII.
 2. acceperunt apud sanctum Andream principes ... F and H.
 3. alii autem non. De hoc consilio quod ... nihil fuit. Atque sic per ... annullatae sunt. ... A.

Inter haec Turci de Caleph quoddam castrum, quod Asa vocatur,¹ obsederunt. Afflicti itaque² Turci qui intus erant, mandaverunt duci, qui in illis regionibus erat, ut castrum ipsorum reciperet, quia deinceps non alium³ nisi de genere Francorum dominum habere volebant. Ob hoc itaque dux Antiochiam reversus, comitem qui iam convaluerat ex infirmitate, et milites et pedites suos omnes pro causa pauperum, ut in Hyspaniam despraedatum eos deduceret, in unum evocaverat,⁴ multum⁵ rogavit ut Turcis qui Deum reclamabant, pro Deo et pro gloria gentis Francorum, atque pro se succurreret; addens quod contra machinas obsidentium Turcorum, obsessi Turci crucem praetenderent. His atque aliis huiusmodi precibus, cum duce comes profectus est.

1. Om. quod Asa vocatur ... D and J.

2. igitur ... D and J.

3. alium dominum nisi ... G.

4. convocaverat ... A.

5. pro causa pauperum in unum evocaverat, ut in Hispaniam depraedatum eos deduceret, multum ... D and J.

Haec autem ubi a Turcis cognita sunt, ab obsidione discedunt. Ut vero ad Asa exercitus noster pervenit, suscepit dux obsides de castello pro fidelitate difenceps, et comes cum grandi dispendio sui exercitus, Antiochiam reversus¹ est. Rursus comes congregavit milites suos, ut plebem pauperum in Hyspaniam² conduceret, quae fame et taedio Antiochiae deficiebat.

³Apparuit autem sanctus Andreas Petro Bartholomeo,^a eo tempore apud Rodiam,^{4 b} infra tentorium ubi manebat episcopus Atensis^c et

-
1. exercitus et reversus ... C and G.
 2. Om. in Hyspaniam ... D.
 3. A - pparuit ... D.
 4. Rodiam ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

- - - - -

- a. This was Peter's ninth vision; it occurred sometime about the 20th September, 1098. (Hagenmeyer does not date it.)
- b. Rugia, a valley to the south-east of Antioch; the reading of A, C, E, F, G and H, Rodiam (Edessa) seems unlikely, hence I have adopted that of D and J.
- c. The identity of this cleric remains uncertain, but it seems possible that he was either Berengar I, Bishop of Agde, (Agatha) (1068-dep. 1098) or Isaacard, Bishop of Apt (Apta), 1095-1102, or Gibelin de Sabran, Bishop of Arles (Arlatensis) from 1090, who became Bishop of Bethlehem in 1107: Gams, op.cit., pp. 477, 492 et 494.

capellanus comitis Raymundus,¹ et alius capellanus²
 nomine Symon. Hic autem Symon audiens eos colloquentes
 sibi, scilicet sanctum Andream cum Petro Bartholomeo,
 caput suum cooperuit, et, ut ipse retulit, plurima
 audivit, sed hoc solum retinuit: "Domine ego dicam".
 Episcopus vere³ Atensis ait, "Nescio utrum
 in somnis fuerit an non, quidam senex stetit⁴ coram
 me, indutus alba et stola,⁵ atque in manibus suis
 tenens Dominican lanceam⁶ ait mihi, 'Credis hanc
 esse⁷ lanceam Iesu Christi?' Et respondi, 'Credo Domine'⁸
 atque cum sic secundo et tertio idem quaesisset

-
1. capellanus comitis Raimundi ... F and H.
 2. et alius caput ... F and H.
 3. Om. vero ... D and J.
 4. Om. stetit ... G.
 5. stola et alba ... G: stola alba ... D and J.
 6. Dominican lanceam tenens ... D, E, F, H and J.
 7. Credis hanc lanceam esse ... D and J. Credis et
 hanc lanceam esse ... G.
 8. Credo Domine hanc esse. ... D.

a me, dixi, "Revera credo, Domine, hanc esse lanceam
 quas sanguinem de latere Iesu Christi¹ eduxit,
 unde redempti sumus omnes."² a Et post haec cum
 impetu me³ qui prope dormiebam, excitavit. Ego
 autem,⁴ cum evigilarem, splendorem quidem insolitum
 vidi, et quasi quamdam gratiam animo concipiens, ab
 eis qui aderant quaerere coepi utrum quamdam, quasi
 plebis tumultationem, sentirent. Et coeperunt omnes
 alii dicere, "Minime". Ille vero Petrus cui haec
 revelatio facta fuerat, cum ad invicem ea quas
 supra diximus diceremus,⁵ respondit, "Et merito
 gratificum splendorem hic conspiciatis, cum ille
 Pater diutius hic steterit,⁶ a quo omnis gratia

-
1. Domini nostri Iesu Christi ... D and J.
 2. omnes redempti sumus ... D and J.
 3. me Raimundum ... D and J: this kind of insertion is a characteristic of the mss. of the ∞ tradition: vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLVIII.
 4. Ego autem Raimundum ... D and J.
 5. diximus quaereremus ... D and J.
 6. pater hic diutius steterit ... G and G.

- - - - -

- a. The Bishop now became a partisan of the lance and when it was called in doubt repeated this vision in its defence: vid. inf., pp. 238-9.

procedit." Cum autem ab eo quaereremus, ut quae dicta sibi fuerant¹ nobis manifestaret, haec nobis et comiti² dixit, "Haec nocte venit hic Deominus et beatus Andreas, in specie qua prius venire soliti sunt, et tertius quidam, cuius statura erat parva, indutus lineis et barba longissima. Tunc comminatus est mihi multum beatus³ Andreas,⁴ eo quod reliquias corporis ipsius apud Antiochiam repertas in ecclesia ipsius, in quodam loco indigno dimiseram, et dixit, 'Cum praecipitatus essem de quodam monte ab infidelibus, duos digitis mihi confregi,^a atque post

1. ut quae sibi dicta fuerant ... D and J.

2. comiti et nobis ... D and J.

3. sanctus ... C and G.

4. Et comminatus est mihi multum beatus Andreas ... D and J.

 a. This was presumably a local Provençal legend. The Latin and Greek Acta published by Tischendorf, Acta Apostolorum apocrypha (Hildesheim, 1959) all state that St. Andrew was crucified at Patrae in Aegia. The Ethiopic stories concerning St. Andrew, edited and translated by E.A.W. Budge as The Contending of the Apostles (London, 1935) relate that he was crucified, but at an unspecified city in Scythia.

mortem meam hic vir^a eos accepit et Antiochiam detulit et tu cum eos invenisses, negligenter habuisti; alterum passus es tibi subripi; alterum ibi indigne dimisisti'. Et ostendit manum sine digitis.¹ Deinde, O comes, de te² multum³ conquestus est.⁴ Nam cum munus ineffabile⁵ nullique alii concessum a Domine acceperis,⁶ graviter et nequiter peccare, in conspectu Domini non vereris. Unde tibi Dominus hoc signum demonstravit. Namque ante quintum diem cum in festivitate beatae Fidis⁷ ^b candelam adeo⁸ magnam obtulisses, ut per

-
1. Et ostendit mihi manum sine duobus digitis ... D and J.
 2. Deinde de te, O comes ... D and J.
 3. Deinde O comes, multum de te ... C.
 4. conquestus est ... D and J.
 5. venerabile munus ... D and J.
 6. a Domine concessum acceperis ... D and J.
 7. beatae Mariae Fidis ... E.
 8. Om. adeo ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. Presumably referring to the third man; cujus statura erat parva: vid. sup. p. 152.
- b. St. Faith: her shrine at Conques was probably the greatest centre of pilgrimage in Provence: vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section III, pp. XVI-XVII.

tres dies et totidem noctes durare potuisset, non quidem illa¹ splendorem dedit, sed statim liquefacta, in terram corruit. In hac autem nocte cum parvam candelam obtulisses, adeo ut vix ad galli cantum durare posset, et dies est, et durat adhuc,² nec tertia pars ex ea combusta est. Propterea haec tibi mandat Dominus: Nihil incipias, nisi poenitentiam egeris. Alioquin tu et quicquid incipias³ ut candela liquefacta, in terram corrues. Quod si poenitentiam egeris, quicquid incipias in nomine Domini, Deus perficiet et consummabit, et ut candelam parvam vides diu durare,⁴ sic faciet Dominus magnum quicquid inceperis,⁵ etiam⁶ si parvum sit. Cumque comes se ita graviter peccasse excusaret, tunc Petrus⁷ et⁸ peccatum sibi narravit, et comes ita

-
1. nullum quidem illa ... D and J.
 2. adhuc durat ... C and G.
 3. quicquid egeris ... D and J.
 4. ut et candelam vides durare parvam ... D and J.
 5. quicquid ceperis ... D and J.
 6. Om. etiam ... A, C, E, F, G and H.
 7. beatus Petrus ... A, C, E, F, G and H.
 8. Om. et ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

confessus est, et poenitentiam agit. Et rursus dixit Petrus ad comitem,¹ "conqueritur, O comes, beatus Andreas de consiliariis tuis,² eo quod multa mala tibi scienter consilientur. Quare tibi praecipitur ut illos ad consilium tuum non admittas, nisi prius iurent³ quod scienter tibi mala⁴ non dent consilia.⁵ Audi adhuc, comes; mandat tibi Dominus ne diutius moram facias, quia nisi prius Iherusalem capta fuerit, succursus nullum habebis. Cum autem prope Iherusalem fueris, nullus per duas leugas ibi equitet. Quod si ita feceritis, civitatem suam vobis donabit⁶ Deus.⁷ a

1. Et rursus etc. repeat G.

2. de consiliariis tuis beatus Andreas ... D and J.

3. prius tibi iurent ... D and J.

4. mala tibi ... A, E, F and H.

5. non consilientur ... D and J.

6. donabit vobis ... E, F, G, H and J. donabit Dominus vobis ... D.

7. Dominus ... A, D and J.

- - - - -

a. Raymond later complains that these instructions were not adhered to: vid. inf., p. 304 et n.b.

Post haec multas gratias retulit mihi sanctus Andreas, quod ecclesiam quae suo nomine fabricata fuerat, apud Antiochiam consecrari feceram. Haec et alia loquutus est mihi¹ sanctus Andreas, de quibus dicere nunc locus non est.² Post haec sublati sunt ipse et socii eius."³

⁴Igitur comes cum populo pauperum et paucis militibus in Syriam profectus, primam civitatem Sarracenorum, Barram nomine,^a viriliter expugnavit, et multa millia Sarracenorum ibi interfecit et multa millia⁵ ad Antiochiam reducti

1. Om. mihi ... D and J.

2. quibus nunc non est locus dicendi ... D and J.
quibus locus dicere nunc non est ... G.

3. et sublati sunt ipse, et socii eius ... D and J.

4. I - gitur ... D: J also has a division at this point.

5. multaque millia ... F and G and H.

- - - - -

a. The city of Albara which the Crusaders captured on or about the 25th September, 1098.

venundati sunt. Et illos qui dum oppugnarentur timore mortis se ei reddiderant liberos ire¹ permisit. Deinde² habito consilio cum capellanis suis et principibus, satis³ laudabiliter et honeste quemdam sacerdotem episcopum ibi elegit. Etenim convocatis omnibus qui ibi secum aderant, quidam comitis capellanus parietem quemdam ascendit, atque omni conventui comitis desiderium manifestavit. Cumque populus multum instaret ut electio fieret, idem comitis capellanus rursus coepit quaerere si esset ibialiquis de clero qui fidelium vota susciperet, et quantum posset paganis resistendo, Deo et fratribus ibi serviret. Cumque omnes tacerent, Petrum quemdam, Narbonensem^a

1. abire ... D and J.

2. Denum ... D and J.

3. cum capellanis et principibus suis, satis ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. Peter of Narbonne was elected towards the end of September 1098. The Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib.X, xxxi, p. 75, says that he was brought back to Antioch for consecration, but William of Tyre says that he was consecrated by the first Latin Patriarch Bernard of Valence, (1100-1134: Gams, op.cit., p. 433): W of T. in R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. I Lib.VII, Cap. viii, pp. 288-289.

genere, advocavimus, cui in praesentia totius consilii laborem episcopatus ostendimus,^a rogantes ut pro Deo et fratribus¹ illum suscipere non dubitaret, si hoc in animo haberet, ut mallet mori quam relinquere civitatem illam.^b Quae cum profiteretur, laudavit eum omnis populus unanimiter,² atque Deo multas gratias³ protulit,⁴ quod episcopum⁵ Romanum in orientali ecclesia habere voluit pro sui administrationem.^c Concessit

1. et pro fratribus ... D and J.

2. unanimiter laudavit eum populus ... D and J.

3. gratias multas ... G.

4. gratias egit ... D and J.

5. qui episcopum ... D and J.

a. Note the person; it is possible that the guidem comitis capellanus (p. 157) was Raymond himself.

b. In fact Peter very soon left the city; vid. inf., p. 192.

c. Peter was the first Latin appointed to any Bishopric in the East. Clearly Raymond regards this as a triumph for the Latins over the Easterners whom he so disliked.

episcopo comes medietatem civitatis, et totius territorii.¹
 Et iam instabant kalendae novembris in quibus omnes
 principes convenire Antiochiam promiserant et
 incipere iter propter quod venerant. Erat autem
 Barra ab Antiochia longe per duos dies ultra Antiochiam.²

Igitur comes relicto exercitu suo apud
 Barram cum electo suo et multis captivis et
 spoliis magnis, cum grandi exultatione Antiochiam
 reversus est. Convenerant ibi omnes principes³
 praeter Balduinum, fratrem ducis. Hic vero Balduinus
 ante captam Antiochiam, versus⁴ Euphratem⁵

-
1. E - t ... D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. ... totius territorii. Erat autem Barra etc...
 ... ultra Antiochiam. Et iam instabat ... Antiochiam
 promiserant. ... D and J.
 3. Convenerant enim ibi omnes principes ... D and J.
 Convenerant enim omnes ibi principes ... G.
 4. venit ... C.
 5. Om. versus Euphratem ... D.

profectus Roais, ditissimam civitatem atque famosissimam, obtinuerat, et multa praelia cum Turcis feliciter gesserat.^a Sed antequam ad reliqua veniamus,¹ hoc unum praetereundum non videtur de duce Lotharingiae: qui cum Antiochia eo tempore, cum duodecim milibus veniret, centum quinquaginta Turcos obviam habuit. Tunc assumptis armis et cohortatus milites suos, viriliter hostes aggressus est. Turci autem, ut viderunt quia Franci mortem magis pugnando quam fugam cum salutem eligerent, quaedam pars Turcorum descendit, ut altera pars securius pugnaret, cum scirent socios suos a bello, dimissis equis suis, non discessuros. Sic itaque bellum inceptum cum diu graviterque duraret, confortati ad invicem milites ducis,

1. perveniamus ... D and J.

--- --

a. This is the first time that Raymond explicitly tells us that a Crusader leader holds Edessa, although in mentioning the perambulations of Peter Bartholemew towards Edessa in search of food (vid. sup. p. 95 et n.a.) this has been implied. The passage is typical of the casual way in which Raymond inserts quite important information into his chronicle; vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, p. lII et seq.

qui et¹ numerum duodecim apostolorum containerent,
 et dominum suum quasi vicarium Dei² haberent,
 imperterriti agmina Turcorum invadunt. Contulit
 ibi Deus tantam victoriam duci, ut usque ad
 triginta ex eis occideret, et totidem caperet;
 reliquosque³ persecutus in paludibus et flumine,
 quae vicina erant; alios necari, alios submergi
 coegit. Et sic cum magna victoria Antiochiam
 venit, faciebat enim capita caesorum ab aliis
 Turcis vivis deferri, quod nostri satis iocundum
 fuit.

⁴Itaque cum omnes principes convenissent in
 ecclesiam beati Petri,^a de itinere nostro agere
 coeperunt. Tunc quidam qui castella et redditus in
 regione Antiochiae habebant, dixerunt: "Quid fiet

1. quod et ... D and J.

2. vicarium Christi ... D and J.

3. reliquos ... A, C, D and J.

4. I - taque ... D: J also has a division at this point.

- - - - -

a. They met on the 1st November, 1098.

de Antiochia? Quis servabit eam? Imperator non
 veniet. Etenim accepto nuntio quod Turci obside-
 rent nos, non confidens virtuti suae, neque
 hominum¹ multitudini quam secum habebat, aufugit.²
 An adhuc expectabimus eum? Certe non veniet in
 auxilium nostrum, qui fratres nostros ad auxilium
 Dei et nostrum³ venientes, ut reverterentur coegit.
 Et si dimittimus hanc civitatem et Turci occupent
 eam, erunt ultima deteriora⁴ prioribus. Sed omnes
 concedant eam Boamundo, quia⁵ ipse est sapiens,⁶
 et optime servabit eam, et nomen eius magnum est
 inter paganos." At comes⁷ et alii e contra dicebant:
 "Imperatori iuravimus super Dominicam crucem et
 spineam coronam et super multa alia sancta,

-
1. et hominum ... D and J.
 2. aut fugit ... F and H.
 3. et nos ... E and F. Om. et nostrum ... D and J.
 4. ultima periora ... D and J.
 5. Om. quia ... A.
 6. quoniam et ipse sapiens est ... D and J.
 7. comes Raimundus ... D and J.

quia nec¹ civitatem nec castellum de omnibus
 pertinentibus ad imperium eius retineremus sine
 eius voluntate." Sic itaque² aliis contradicentibus,
 hoc modo et alio modo, in tantam discordiam
 principes venerunt,³ ut pene ad arma venirent.
 Etenim dux et comes Flandrensis leviter de
 civitate Antiochiae habebant, propterea licet
 ut de⁴ Boamundo vellent quod haberet eam, tamen
 non audebant ei eam laudare,⁵ metuentes incurrere
 periurii infamiam. Hoc ergo modo⁶ de itinere et
 de aliis⁷ quae itineri et pauperibus usui forent,
 differebatur. Haec autem cum populus vidisset,
 coepit dicere unusquisque⁸ ad socium suum et ad
 vicinum,⁹ deinde palam omnibus: "Quoniam principes,

1. quod nec ... D and J.

2. Sic autem ... D.

3. convenerunt principes nostri ... J. venerunt principes
 nostri ... D.

4. licet de ... C, D, E, G and J.

5. audebant laudare ei ... D and J.

6. Hoc igitur modo ... D and J.

7. de aliis rebus ... D and J.

8. quisque ... E, F, H, D and J.

9. Om. et ad vicinam ... D and J.

vel propter timorem vel propter iuramenta quae imperatori fecerunt nos in Iherusalem ducere nolunt, eligamus de militibus nostris¹ aliquem fortem, cui fideliter serviendo, et tuti esse possimus. Et si gratia Dei est, eodem milite duce in Iherusalem perveniamus. He ho, non² sufficit principibus nostris quod hic per annum fuimus, et ducenta millia armatorum consumpta sunt? Habeant qui volunt aurum habere imperatoris,³ et qui volunt redditus Antiochiae habere.⁴ Nos autem Christo pro quo venimus duce, iter⁵ nostrum aggrediamur. Pereant male qui volunt habitare Antiochiae sicut nuper habitores eius perierunt. Quod si haec tanta lis diutius propter Antiochiam datur, dirvamus muros eius, et pax quae ante captam civitatem principes tenuit, destructa civitate eosdem tenebit. Alioquin, antequam fame omnino

-
1. Om. nostris ... A, D, E, F, H and J.
 2. Eo non ... A, F and H. Et non ... C, E and G.
 3. aurum imperatoris ... D and J.
 4. habeant ... A, C, D, E, G and J.
 5. inter ... F, G and H.

et taedio hio deficiamus, ad propria reverti debemus." His atque aliis de causis discordem pacem comes et Boamundus inter se fecerunt. Igitur terminato¹ die, iubetur populus praeparari ad devotum iter.

²Praeparatis igitur necessariis, die constituta,^a profectus est comes sancti Aegidii et Flandrensis³ cum populo⁴ in Syriam; ibique Marram, ditissimam civitatem et populosam obsederunt. Erat enim⁵ Marra a Barra octo⁶ miliaribus. Et erant cives Marrae ita superbi, quia quodam tempore in quadam pugna multos de nostris⁷ occiderant^b exercitui

1. de terminato ... C, E, F, G and H.

2. P raeparatis ... D: J also has a division at this point.

3. comes Flandrensis ... D and J.

4. Om. cum populo ... D and J.

5. Erat autem ... D and J.

6. longe octo ... D and J.

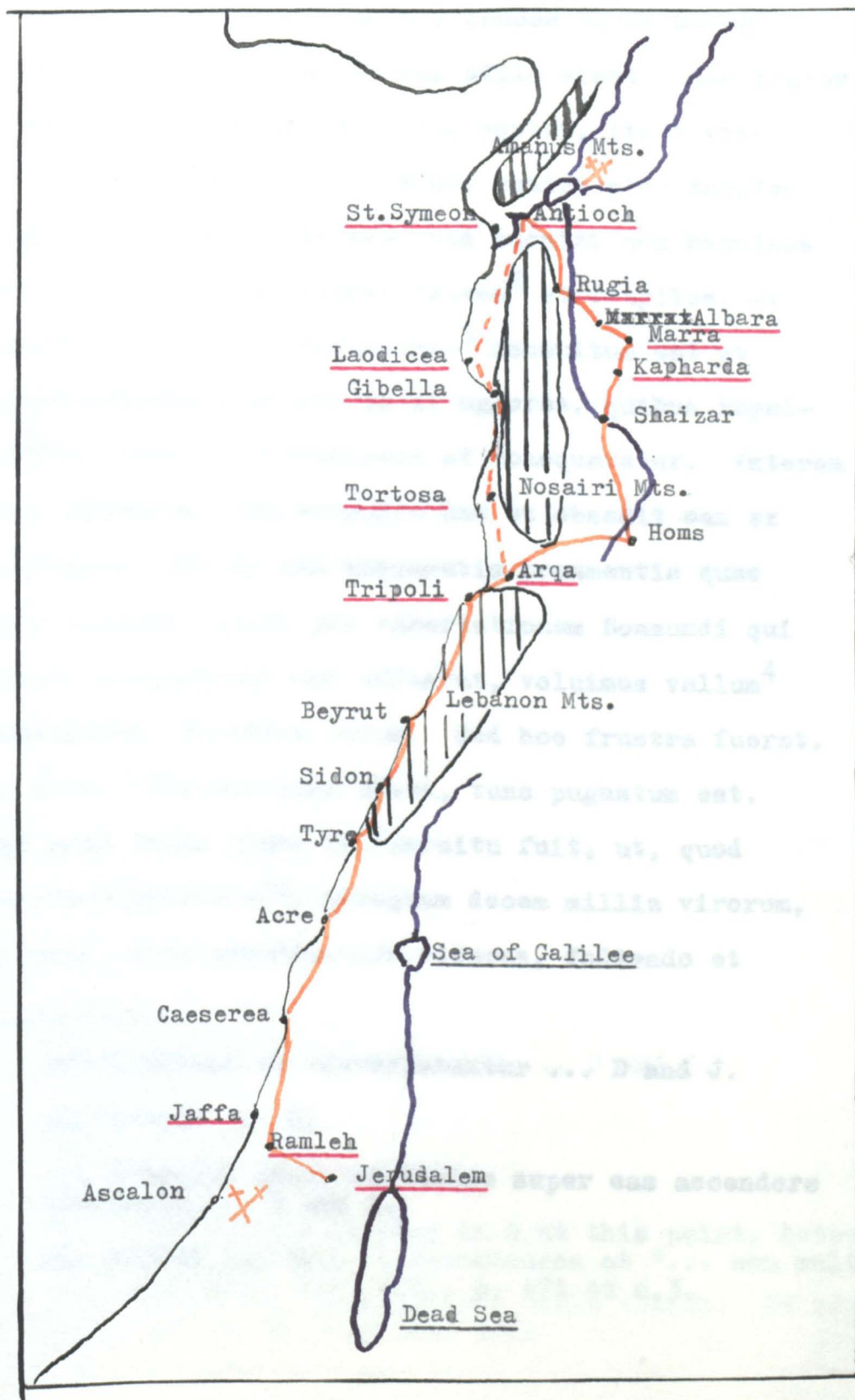
7. de nostris multos ... C, D and J.

- - - - -

a. The 23rd November, 1098.

b. The occasion was the defeat of a Provençal raiding party in August 1098. It is fully described in the Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib.X, xxx, pp. 73-74.

THE FIRST CRUSADE : ANTIOCH TO JERUSALEM



Route of Count Raymond of Toulouse to Arqa :

Route of the North French to Arqa :

Cities besieged or captured by the Crusaders : Antioch

Battles : X

nostro maledicerent et principibus conviciarentur,¹ et ut maxime nos provocarent, cruces super muros ponentes, multis iniuriis eas afficiebant. Hac itaque de causa, secunda die adventus nostri, ita acriter eos oppugnavimus, ut si quatuor scalas plus habuissemus, capta esset civitas; sed quoniam non habuimus nisi duas, et illas easdem breves² et fragiles, et timide super eas ascenderetur,³ consultum est ut fierent machinae et crates et aggeres, quibus impelleretur murus et effoderetur et coaequaretur. Interea venit Boamundus cum exercitu suo et obsedit eam ex alia parte: rursus non comparatis armamentis quae supra diximus, quasi pro cohortationem Boamundi qui priori oppugnationi non affuerat, voluimus vallum⁴ compellendo, invadere murum. Sed hoc frustra fuerat. Nam multo deterius quam antea, tunc pugnatum est. Post haec tanta fames in exercitu fuit, ut, quod dictu miserabile est, plusquam decem millia virorum, per sata, more pecudum, ire videres, fodiendo et

1. maledicebant et conviciabantur ... D and J.

2. Om. breves ... D.

3. ... fragiles adeo, ut timide super eas ascendere timebamus ... D and J.

4. Om. vallum ... D.

et investigando si forte aliqua grana frumenti vel hordei aut fabae,¹ sive alicuius leguminis grana² reperirent. Interea, licet compararentur quae supra diximus ad oppugnandum machinae³ tamen quidam de nostris videndo miseriam populi nostri et audaciam Sarracenorum, desperantes de Dei misericordia, aufugiebant. Sed Deus, cui cura de famulis suis est,⁴ ulterius misereri populo suo non distulit, quem in ultimis tribulationibus positum vidit.

⁵Itaque per beatos apostolos suos⁶ Petrum et Andream nobis mandavit⁷ per quos et voluntatem

1. vel fabae ... D and J.

2. Om. grana ... D and J.

3. maximae ... C.

4. cui cura est de famulis suis ... D and J.

5. I - taque ... D.

6. Om. suos ... C, D and J.

7. There is a folio missing in A at this point, between fols. 113^v and 114. A recommences at "... non multa cara fuerat". vid. inf., p. 174 et n.3.

eius sciremus, et voluntatem eius erga nos gravem placare¹ possemus.² Illi igitur in capellam comitis venientes per noctis medium, Petrum cui nuper³ lanceam ostenderant, excitaverunt.^a Tunc ille videns subito eos⁴ deformi veste et sordidissima indutos, scriniis ubi reliquiae manebant assistere, pauperes aliquo eos esse credidit,⁵ qui aliquid de tentorio subripere⁶ vellent.⁷ Erat enim sanctus Andreas tunica indutus⁸ veteri, et ad humeros dirupta, et in foramine sinistri humeri pannus insutus erat, in dextro nihil, et viliter

1. placari ... C, F, G and H.

2. per quos voluntatem eius sciremus, et iram ius gravem erga nos placere possemus. ... D and J.

3. Om. nuper ... F, D and J.

4. Tunc ille subito videns eos ... D and J.

5. pauperes esse aliquos credidit ... D and J.

6. arripere ... G.

7. vellent subripere ... D and J.

8. indutus tunica ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. This was Peter Bartholemew's tenth vision. It occurred on or about December 1st, 1098.

calceatus erat. Petrus¹ tantum² camisia grossa et longa usque ad talos indutus erat. Tunc ait ad eos Petrus Bartholomeus; "Qui estis Domini? vel quid quaeritis?" Et respondit beatus Petrus, "Legati sumus Dei. Ego sum Petrus et iste Andreas."³ Sed volumus tibi in hoc habitu apparere, ut cognoscas quantum proficit qui Deo devote servit: hac in aetate et habitu,⁴ quales nos vides, ad Deum venimus, et tales sumus." Et hoc dicto tales fuerunt, ut nihil eis clarius, nihil pulchrius. Petrus vero qui haec videbat, subita claritate perterritus, veluti mortuus in terram cecidit,⁵ et prae nimia angustia sudans, nattam super quam ceciderat, humefecit. Tunc elevavit eum beatus Petrus, et dixit ei, "Leviter cecidisti". Et ille respondit, "Ita est Domine". Et rursus beatus Petrus, "Sic cadunt omnes qui in incredulitate vel transgressione mandatorum Dei sunt. Sed si poeniteat eos de malefactis suis, et

1. Beatus vero Petrus ... D and J.

2. Om. tantum ... D and J.

3. iste est Andreas ... D and J.

4. et in habitu ... C and G.

5. mortuus cecidit in terram ... D and J.

ad Deum clament, erigit eos Dominus, sicut et ego te erexi cum cecidisses.¹ Et sicut sudor tuus ibi super nattam remansit,² sic peccata ad se clamantium tollit Deus et aufert. Dic mihi, quomodo se habet exercitus?" Et respondit ille, "Certe Domine in magno timore famis, et totius miseriae sunt." Et tunc beatus Petrus ait,³ "Et revera in magno timore esse possunt, qui Deum omnipotentem deserverunt, nec periculorum de quibus eos eruit recordantur,⁴ ut aliquam gratiam ei reddant.⁵ Etenim cum essetis omnes,⁶ victi et humiliati infra Antiochiam, quia ad Deum clamastis⁷ adeo ut nos qui in coelo eramus omnes audiremus, exaudivit vos Dominus, et lanceam suam quasi pignus

1. sicut ego cum cecidisses te erexi ... D and J.

2. nattam cecidit et remansit ... D and J.

3. Et beatus Petrus ... D and J.

4. quibus eruit eos recordantur ... D and J.

5. ei referant ... D and J.

6. Etenim cum illic essetis omnes ... D and J. Etenim cum ceteris omnes ... C and G.

7. quia clamastis ad Dominum ... D and J.

victoriae vobis obtulit,¹ deinde mirifice et
 gloriose de inimicis vestris qui vos obsederant
 triumphare fecit. Et nunc quo Domino creditis² vos
 esse tutos, qui Deum graviter offendistis? Poterunt
 vos montes excelsi, vel antra tueri? Etenim si
 essetis in aliquo loco excelso et firmissimo et
 abundaretis omnibus vitae necessariis, non tamen
 securi possetis esse,³ cum unicuique de vobis
 centum millia adversarii imminerent. Inter vos
 caedes et rapinae et⁴ furta; nulla iusticia et
 plurima adulteria: cum Deo placitum sit, si uxores
 vos omnes ducatis. De iusticia vero, sic praecepit
 Dominus; ut quicumque pauperi violentiam intulerit,
 quicquid in domo oppressoris est,⁵ totum publicetur.⁶
 De decimis autem dicit Dominus,⁷ quod si reddatis eas⁸

1. contulit ... D and J.

2. nunc quomodo creditis ... D and J.

3. securi esse possetis ... C.

4. rapinae sunt et ... D and J.

5. Om. est ... C.

6. quicquid est in domo oppressoris, publicetur ... D and J.

7. De decimis autem dico, quod ... D and J.

8. eas reddatis ... D and J.

quicquid necesse fuerit ipse donare paratus est.¹
 Civitatem vero istam pro misericordia sua,² et non
 pro benefactis³ vestris donabit vobis, et quandocumque
 vultis oppugnate eam, quia sine dubio capietur."⁴

Cum autem haec mane comiti nuntiasset
 Petrus, convocaverunt populum episcopi Aurasicensis^a
 et Barrae,^b ⁵ et suprascripta illis⁶ exposuimus.

-
1. quicquid vobis necesse fuerit, donare paratus est ...
D and J.
 2. pro sua misericordia ... D and J.
 3. pro meritis ... D and J.
 4. et quandocumque vultis etc. ... Om. D and J.
 5. convocavit populum episcopus Aurasicensis et Barrae,
... All.

- - - - -

- a. vid. sup. p. 28 et n.a.
- b. vid. sup. p. 157 et n.a.

Adducti igitur fideles in maximam spem¹ capiendae civitatis, largissimas eleemosynas² et orationes Deo omnipotenti offerebant, ut plebem pauperum suorum, pro solo nomine suo³ liberaret. Fiunt itaque post haec velociter scalae et turris lignea exstruitur, et crates iunguntur, et terminata die pugna incipitur. At vero illi qui infra civitatem erant, in nostros, qui murum suffodiebant, lapides cum tormentis, et tela et ignem et ligna et⁴ alvearia cum apibus et calcem permixtim iaciebant. Sed Dei virtute et misericordia, nullos vel⁵ paucos de nostris ista laedebant. Nostri vero, et⁶ cum petrariis et scalis, murum imperterriti aggrediebantur. Tenuit autem haec pugna ab ortu solis usque ad occasum ita mirabiliter, ut nulla unquam requies concederetur. et adhuc de victoria dubitabatur. Tandem exclamaverunt

-
1. magnam spem ... D and J.
 2. eleemosynas fecerunt ... C and G.
 3. pro solo nomine liberaret ... F and H. pro suo nomine ... D.
 4. Om. et ... C and G.
 5. nullum vel ... J.
 6. Om. et ... D and J.

unanimiter omnes ad Dominum, ut plebi suae propitius fieret, et apostolorum suorum promissa adimpleret. Affuit illico Dominus et civitatem secundum apostolorum dicta nobis donavit. Ascendit ante omnes Golferius de Turribus,^a quem subsecuti sunt plures, qui murum et quasdam turres civitatis invaserunt. Et nox supervenit, quae pugnam diremit.¹ Retinebant adhuc Sarraceni quasdam turres et partem civitatis. Ob hoc itaque, sperantes milites quod usque² in mane se Sarraceni non dedissent, extra muros civitatis custodiebant, ne aliquis subterfugeret. At vero hi, quibus sua vita³ non multum cara fuerat, quos longa ieiunia in sui despectum deduxerant, per noctis tenebras

1. Et nox superveniens, pugnam diremit. ... D and J.

2. quo usque ... F and H.

3. Ms. A continues at this point; non multa cara etc: vid. sup., p. 167 et n.7.

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a. Lord of Lastours near Hexon (Haute - Vienne): Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. I, xxxiii, p. 79 et n.2.

inferre bella Sarracenis non formidabant. Atque sic pauperes et spolia civitatis et domos habuerunt. Mane autem facto, ingressi milites in¹ civitatem,² quae sibi tollerent, pauca invenerunt. Sarraceni vero, concluderant se in specus subterraneos, et nulli vel pauci apparebant, Cumque nostri omnia, quae super terram repererant, sustulissent, arbitrati omnia esse cum Sarracenis, igne et fumo sulphureo antra perquirebant, et quia non multa spolia ibi reperiebant, quos poterant invenire de Sarracenis, donec ad mortem pro spoliis afficiebant. Contigit autem quibusdam de nostris, ut cum Sarracenos pro spoliis per civitatem ducerent, usque ad puteos Sarraceni nostros perducebant; atque se subito intus praecipitabant, eligentes magis mortis compendium, quam sua vel aliqua demonstrare vellent. Quapropter omnes morti subiacuerunt, et proiecti sunt per paludes civitatis et extra muros. Sicque non multa spolia capta fuerunt in

1. Om. in ... D and J.

2. facto alii ingressi civitatem ... D.

civitate. Interea orta est contentio inter homines Boamundi et comitis ob hoc; quia cum milites Boamundi oppugnationi non multum institissent, plurimum turres et domos et captivos obtinerent.^a Mirabile quoddam fecerat ibi Dominus. Etenim, cum ante captam Marram praecepta apostolorum¹ Petri et Andreae, sicut supra scriptum est,^b ad populum exponeremus,² irrisit nos Boamundus et socii eius. Itaque nec ipse nec qui cum eo fuerant,³ pugnae profuerunt, sed potius oberant. Et cum modo plurima⁴ haberent spolia, quidam de familia comitis indigne ferebant. Tandem⁵ inter ipsos dominos male conveniebant^{ur}, ob ea quod⁶ comes volebat dare civitatem

-
1. sanctorum apostolorum ... D and J.
 2. exponeremus ad populum ... C and G.
 3. erant ... A, C, G, D and J.
 4. Et cum eo plurima ... D.
 5. Tamen ... D and J.
 6. ob hoc quod ... D and J.

-
- a. According to the Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxxiii, pp. 79-80, Boamund made a treaty with the inhabitants of a section of the city.
 - b. i.e. the tenth vision of Peter Bartholemew: vid. sup., pp. 168-172.

episcopo Albariensi, et Boamundus nolebat dimittere quasdam turres quas se ei dederant, dicens "Nisi comes dimiserit mihi turres Antiochiae, non ei consentiam in aliquo."

¹Interea de itinere milites et populus quaerere coeperunt, quando placeret principibus² ut inciperetur. Etenim licet ex longo tempore inceptum esset iter, tamen cotidie videbatur nobis incipere cum iter ageremus, quia nondum fuerat completum. Dicebat Boamundus³ quod usque in Pascha differretur. Et tunc erat tempus Dominicae Nativitatis. Desperabant etiam multi, eo quod pauci equi essent⁴ in exercitu, et dux aberat, et multi de militibus abierant ad Balduinum de Roais. Itaque multi revertebantur. Tandem convenerunt episcopus Albariensis, et quidam nobiles cum populo pauperum, et comitem evocaverunt. Cumque episcopus praedicationem suam complisset, procubuerunt milites et omnis

1. I - nterea ... D: J also has a division at this point.

2. principibus placeret ... D and J.

3. Boimundus dicebat ... D and J.

4. quod pauci essent equi

populus ante comitem, et cum multis lacrymis¹ deprecabantur eum ut ipse cui Dominus lanceam suam contulerat,² ductor et dominus eiusdem exercitus³ fieret; addentes quod ob hoc lanceam dominicam promeruisset, ut si alii principes defecissent, ipse obnoxius tanto beneficio Domini securus cum populo pergere non formidaret. Alioquin, traderet lanceam populo, et iret populus in Iherusalem, ipso domino duce. Dubitabat autem comes, propter aliorum principum absentiam, metuens quod si ipse solus diem itineris terminaret, ob invidiam sui ceteri non essent. Quid multa? Vincitur comes lacrymis pauperum, et diem quintum decimum ad iter nominavit. Quam ob rem indignatus Boamundus, diem quintum aut sextum occlamare itineri per civitatem iussit, et post haec Antiochiam reversus est. Quaerebat comes cum episcopo civitatem retinere quomodo posset,⁴ et quos et

-
1. lacrymis multis ... D and J.
 2. ipse cui lanceam suam Dominus contulerat ... D and J.
 3. exercitus eiusdem ... D, E, F, G, H and J.
 4. episcopo quomodo civitatem potuisset retinere ... D and J.
episcopo civitatem retinere quomodo posset retinere ... A.

quantos viros, pro custodia ibi dimittere possent. Interea mandavit comes ad ducem¹ Lotharingiae et ad alios qui Marram non interfuerant, ut congregarentur in unum locum, atque de his quae itineri utilia forent pertractarent.² Atque sic convenerunt apud Roiam,^a quae inter Antiochiam et Marram quasi media est. Ibique habito colloquio omnes principes,³ in deterius vertebantur. Etenim principes se ab itinere excusabant, et causa eorum multi alii.⁴ Volebat tamen⁵ comes duci donare⁶ decem millia solidorum, et Roberto Normanniae totidem, et comiti Flandrensi sex millia,⁷ et Tancredo quinque

1. comes duci ... D and J.

2. forent et populo Dei pertractarent ... D and J.

3. omnes principes habito colloquio ... D and J.

4. alii multi ... D and J.

5. Volebat tunc ... E, D and J.

6. donare duci ... G.

7. et Roberto Normanniae comiti totidem, et sex millia comiti Flandreneis ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. i.e. Rugia.

millia, et aliis principibus prout erant. Inter haec, cum ad pauperes, qui apud Marram remanserant perventum esset quod comes in civitate Marrae multos milites et pedites de exercitu pro custodia dimittere vellet, dixerunt ad invicem, "Heho! Et propter Antiochiam lites, et propter Marram lites; et in omni loco quem Deus dederit nobis¹ principum certamina et imminutio exercitus Dei erit? Certe propter hanc civitatem ulterius lites non dabuntur.² Sed venite³ et dirvamus muros eius,⁴ et fiet pax inter principes et comiti securitas ne perdat eam." Surgentes itaque debiles et infirmi de cubilibus suis, innixi baculis ad muros usque perveniebant, et illos lapides quos vix tria vel quatuor paria bovum trahere possent, facile quidam famelicus revolutos a muro longe proiciebat. Episcopus vero Albariensis, causando et interdicens ne hoc ullo modo⁵ fieret, circuibat civitatem, et

-
1. quem dederit Deus nobis ... C.
 2. non habebuntur ... D and J.
 3. Venite ... D and J.
 4. muros civitatis ... C and G.
 5. ne ullo modo ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

pariter comitis familiares. Cum autem pertransissent custodes isti,¹ statim revertebantur ad inceptum opus, qui se occultaverant et qui declinaverant ad adventum episcopi² et sociorum eius. Et qui non audebant per diem dirvere, vel non poterant alias intenti,³ per noctem instabant. Vix erat aliquis de populo debilis vel infirmus ad confringendum murum. Interea tanta fames in exercitu fuit,⁴ ut multa corpora Sarracenorum⁵ iam foetentium, quae in paludibus civitatis eiusdem per duas hebdomadas et amplius⁶ iacuerant, populus avidissime comederet. Terrebant ista multos tam nostrae gentis homines quam extraneos. Revertebantur ob ea nostri quam plures, desperantes de itinere sine succursu de gente Francorum. Sarraceni vero et Turci e contra dicebant; "Et quis poterit sustinere hanc gentem, quae tam obstinata atque crudelis est, ut per annum non potuerit revocari ab obsidione Antiochiae fame vel gladio vel

1. custodes illi ... D.

2. adventum Christi ... C.

3. Om. intenti ... E and H.

4. tanta fames fuit in exercitu ... D and J.

5. Ubi Franci contedebant corpora Sarracenorum: marginal note in D.

6. eiusdem duas et amplius hebdomadas ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

aliquibus periculis? Et nunc carnibus humanis vescitur!" Haec et alia crudelissima sibi in nobis dicebant esse pagani. Etenim dederat Deus timorem nostrum cunctis gentibus, sed nos nesciebamus.

Interea comes a colloquio principum reversus¹ Marram, graviter irascebatur de destructione muri contra populum. Cumque expositum esset ei quod neque episcopus neque alii principes sui possent amovere, minis vel verberibus, populum a murorum destructione,² intellexit illico divinum esse³ et ut funditus murum dirverent praecepit. Interim ingravescebat cotidie fames.⁴ Cumque iam dies proposita itineri instaret,^a praedicabamus

1. regressus ... D and J.

2. a muri destructione ... D and J.

3. intellexit ut divinum illico esset ... G.

4. fames cotidie ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. i.e. diem quintum decimum designated by the count earlier for the departure of the army to Jerusalem: vid. sup., p. 178.

eleemosynas et orationes in populum¹ ad Deum
 pro itineri. Cum vero vidisset comes quod nulli
 de principibus maioribus ad se venirent et omnem
 populum fere contabescere² cerneret, in interiora
 Hispaniae³ pro victualibus populum ire praecepit,
 et ipse cum militibus praecessit⁴ eum. Sed hoc
 non erat gratum quibusdam de suis⁵ privatis;
 dicebant enim; "In exercitu vix sunt trecenti⁶
 milites et aliorum armatorum non est grandis
 numerus, et alii ibunt in expeditionem, atque alii
 hic erunt infra civitatem destructam,⁷ quae
 sine munimine est?" Et intendebant comiti
 nimiam levitatem. Ad ultimum tamen pro causa
 pauperum comes profectus est et castella⁸ multa

-
1. orationes fieri in populo ... D and J.
 2. populum contabescere ... D and J.
 3. De Hispaniae: marginal note in D.
 4. praecederit ... H.
 5. quibusdam suis ... D and J.
 6. trecentum ... A, F and H.
 7. civitatem hanc destructam ... D and J.
 8. pro causa comes profectus pauperum castella ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

obtinuit et captivos et maximam praedam cepit. Cumque reverteretur, cum grandi exultatione et victoria, pluribus Sarracenorum interfectis, sex vel septem de nostris pauperibus a paganis capti et interfecti sunt:¹ hi autem omnes defuncti, cruces in dextris habuerunt humeris.² Haec autem cum comes et qui cum eo erant vidissent, omnipotenti Deo gratias quantas poterant faciebant,³ qui pauperum suorum memor erat, et ob hoc maxime confortabantur. Itaque ut omnibus qui ad sarcinas apud Marram remanserant, satisfacerent, unum de interfectis qui adhuc spirabat detulerunt, et mirum certe in homine illo vidimus, qui cum vix haberet integrum ubi latere posset anima, per septem aut octo dies⁴ sine victu permansit, testificans Iesum, ad cuius iudicium venturus erat⁵ sine dubio, crucis illius Deum fuisse⁵ auctorem.

-
1. de nostris pauperibus VI vel VII capti et interfecti sunt ... A.
 2. in dextris humeris habuerunt ... D and J.
 3. poterant reddebant ... D and J.
 4. per VI aut VIII dies ... C, E and F. per VII aut dies ... H.
 5. iudicium erat venturus ... D and J.

¹Igitur proventu rerum et crucis confortati, in castro quodam quod vocabatur Cafarda,² ^a et erat itinere³ longe a Marra quatuor leugis, spolia sua dimiserunt, atque illi qui socios habebant Marrae, cum comite eo reversi⁴ sunt. Constituta itaque die,^b et incensa civitate, proficiscebantur. Sed comes, cum clericis suis et episcopo Albariensi discalciatus incedebat, invocantes Dei misericordiam et sanctorum praesidia. Et consecutus est nos Tancredus cum

-
1. I - gitur ... D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. Cafarta ... A, F and H. Casarta ... C and E.
Capharca ... D and J.
 3. et erat in itinere ... D and J.
 4. comite reversi sunt ... D. comite illo reversi sunt ... G.

a. Kapharda.

b. The army finally left Marra on the 13th January, 1099.

quadraginta militibus et peditibus multis.¹

Cumque hoc audissent reges de terra illa,

Arabum nobiles cum supplicationibus et multis

donariis ad comites mittebant,

nunc et deinceps² tributarii eorum futuri,

et allaturi victualia gratis, et pro commercio.

Itaque acceptis securitatibus ab eis per

iusiurandum, et vadibus pro conductu, ulterius

tendebamus. Habuimus autem a rege Caesereas³

duces, qui nos in prima die ut nobis videbatur,

male duxerunt. Fuimus enim³ in hospitio illo,

in penuria totius boni, praeter aquae. Secunda

1. et peditibus multis, et Robertus Normanniae comes cum XL militibus et peditibus multis. ... A, C, E and G: this is a reading of considerable importance; vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLXXIV and and Section III, p. CCXI.

2. mittebant, dicentes se nunc et deinceps ... D and J.

3. etenim ... A, C, and J.

- - - - -

a. Shaisar.

vero die iidem duces imprudenter induxerunt nos
 in quamdam vallem ubi armenta regis et totius
 regionis propter timorem nostrum confugerant.
 Et tunc rex longe ante nos venturos ibi sciebat,¹
 et² ut fugerent ante nos omnibus Sarracenis suis³
 mandaverat. Sed si iussisset ut omnes de regione
 illa obviam nobis venirent, non ita factum esset.
 Raymundus de Insula^a et socii eius unum Sarracenum
 ea die⁴ ceperunt, cum litteris regis quas deferebat
 ad omnes de regione illa,⁵ ut fugerent ante nos.
 Cumque haec regi cognita fuissent, dixit; "Ego

-
1. Etenim rex longe ante nos ibi venturos sciebat ... D and J. Et tunc rex longe ante nos venturos nos ibi sciebat ... A.
 2. Om. et ... A, C, E, F, G and H.
 3. Om. suis ... D and J.
 4. ea die unum Sarracenum ... D and J.
 5. de illa regione ... D and J.

- - - - -

- a. Raymond of Lille: V et V vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 315.

quidem iusseram hominibus meis ut ante faciem Francorum quantum possent, fugerent,¹ et² ipsi ad eos venerunt. Video quia Deus hanc gentem elegit, propterea quodlibet faciant, non eis nocebo."

Tunc Deum ipse rex benedicebat, qui sufficienter providet necessaria timentibus se. Videntes autem tam subitam ac talem plenitudinem, nostri milites et multi de plebe viri fortes, assumptis omnibus pecuniis suis, Caeseream et Camelan^a adibant, ut equos farios ibi mercarentur, dicentes, "Quoniam³ de victu nostro Deus curam agit,⁴ nos de pauperibus et de militia eius curemus." Sicque factum est ut usque mille optimos dextrarios haberemus. Convallescebant cotidie pauperes; confortabantur cotidie milites, et sic cotidie exercitus multiplicari videbatur.⁵

-
1. ut fugerent ante faciem Francorum (Francorum faciem ... D) quantum possent ... D and J.
 2. Om. et ... C and G.
 3. Quod ... H. Quam ... D.
 4. Quoniam Deus de victu nostro curam agit ... D and J.
 5. exercitus multiplicabatur ... D and J.

- - - - -

a. i.e. Hems.

Et quanto ulterius progrediebamur, tanto ampliora beneficia nobis Deus providebat.¹ Et licet omnia² sufficienter nobis provenirent,³ tamen quidam comitem ad hoc inclinaverunt, ut quasi causa Gibelli,⁴ ^a quae est civitas in maritimis, deviare paulipser vellet. Sed Tancredus atque multi⁵ alii viri boni et fortes⁶ ne hoc ullo modo fieret effecerunt, dicentes; "Deus visitavit plebem pauperum et nos, et⁷ declinare ab itinere debemus? Sufficiant nobis praeteriti labores apud Antiochiam, belli et frigoris, et inediae denique et totius miseriae. Numquid nos soli totum⁸ mundum expugnabimus? et habitores mundi

1. nobis beneficia providebat Deus ... D and J.

2. Et licet inter omnia ... D.

3. omnia nobis sufficienter provenirent ... G.

4. Zibelli ... D and J.

5. Om. multi ... G.

6. Tancredus aliqui multi viri fortes et boni ... D and J.

7. Om. et ... C, E, F, D and J.

8. Om. totum ... D and J.

a. Gibella: it was later besieged by Godfrey and Robert of Flanders; vid. inf., p. 213 et n.a.

omnes¹ interficiemus? Ecce de centum millibus
equitum vix milites mille² habemus, et de
ducentis millibus peditum armatorum et amplius,
modo non sunt in exercitu³ nostro quinque millia
armati; et expectabimus donec omnes consumamur?
Numquid ideo venient⁴ de terra nostra qui
audient captam⁵ esse Antiochiam et Gibellum
atque reliquas civitates Sarracenorum?⁶ Sed
eamus in Iherusalem pro qua venimus, et revera
Deus donabit nobis eam.⁷ Et tunc solo timore eorum
qui venient de terra nostra⁸ et de aliis terris,
hae civitates, Gibella⁹ et Tripolis et Sur^a et

-
1. Om. omnes ... C and G.
 2. vix mille equites ... G.
 3. amplius non sunt modo in exercitu ... C, F and G.
 4. alii venient ... D and J.
 5. Om. captam ... D.
 6. Sarracenorum nostras? Sed ... D and J.
 7. Deus eam nobis dabit ... D and J.
 8. et de aliis terris etc: here begins manuscript B.
 9. aliae (hae ... D) civitates, scilicet Zibelli ... B, D and J.

- - - - -

a. Sidon.

Accaron,^a quae sunt in itinere nostro, ab incolis relinquentur.

¹Sic itaque cum antea progredere, quidam Turci et Arabes exercitum sequebantur, et pauperes qui pro debilitate sua longe post exercitum remanebant, interficiebant et spoliabant. Cumque hoc semel et secundo fecissent, alia die remansit comes in occultis, donec omnis exercitus pertransiret. Hostes vero, impunitate caedis et spe rapinae exercitum nostrum more solito insequabantur. Sed cum iam² praeterissent insidias,³ egressi nostri milites de⁴ occultis cum comite, agmina hostium invadunt, conturbant et confundunt⁵ atque eos⁶ interficiunt, et equos eorum optimos, cum grandi exultatione ad exercitum deduxerunt. Et post haec

-
1. relinquentur. XVIII. S - io: ... B.
 2. iam cum ... G.
 3. insidias praeterissent ... B, D and J.
 4. nostri de ... B, D and J.
 5. confundunt et conturbant ... A.
 6. ipsos ... B, D and J.

- - - - -

a. Acre.

nulli hostes exercitum nostrum consequabantur,¹ quoniam comes cum armata multitudine militum post omnes debiles ibat.² Alii autem milites armati cum comite Normanniae et Tancredo et Episcopo Albariensi praecedebant frequenter exercitum,³ ne vel tergo vel a fronte improvisi⁴ hostes nos conturbarent...⁵ Etenim comes, quia paucos milites secum habebat, cum a Marra proficisceretur, rogavit episcopum ut, posito praesidio Barrae, ipse veniret secum. Quod episcopus audiens,⁶ quemdam militem suum nomine Wilhelmum⁷ Petri⁸ de Cimiliaco⁹ a ibi dimisit, cum militibus septem

1. assequabantur ... A, C, D, F, G and H.

2. debiles **. Alii ... B.

3. frequenter exercitum praecedebant ... D and J.
Tancredo exercitum praecedebant ... B.

4. ne vel tergo etc. Om. A.

5. conturbarent nos ... D and J.

6. Quod audiens episcopus ... G.

7. Guillelmum ... A, C, E, F, H, D and J.

8. Om. Petri ... E and F.

9. episcopus audiens, Guillelmum Petri nomine de Cimiliaco ibi dimisit ... D and J. Cuniliaco ... F and H.

- - - - -

a. William Peter of Cumliac or Ciniliac; V. et V, vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 315.

et peditibus triginta, virum fidelem ac Deo devotum,
qui res episcopi auxit, adiutore Deo in decuplum,
breui tempore et homines¹ habuit pro triginta
septuaginta, et equites sexaginta et amplius.²

³Consultum est eo tempore de itinere
nostro, ut dimitteremus via quae ducebat Damascum
et diverteremus⁴ ad maritimam, quoniam si nostrae
naves quas in portu Antiochiae reliqueramus ad
nos venirent, haberemus commercia cum his de insula
Cypri et reliquarum insularum. Cumque consultum iter⁵
ageremus, relinquebant civitates et castra et villas,
plenas omnibus bonis habitatores⁶ terrae. Itaque
circinatis magnis montanis,³ cum in vallem quamdam
opulentissimam venissemus, rustici quidam

1. homines pedites ... D and J.

2. et eo amplius ... A.

3. conturbarent. (Etenim comes quia paucos (p. 192) etc...
... sexaginta et amplius. Om.) XVIII C - onsultum ... B.

4. via quae etc ... Om. B.

5. Cumque ut consultum est ... D and J. Cumque consultum
est ... B.

6. et habitatores ... A, C, E, F, G and H.

- - - - -

a. The Nosairi range which lay between the Crusaders and the
sea: vid. Runciman, op.cit., vol. I (The First Crusade)
Bk. V, Chap. I, p. 268.

multitudine sua et castris sui munitione superbi^a
 neque ad nos mittere pro pace, neque relinquere
 castrum suum voluerunt,¹ sed insuper armigeris
 nostris et peditibus, qui inermis erant et per
 villas discurrebant pro victualibus, incurrerunt,
 et quibusdam interfectis, spolia intra castellum² suum
 miserunt. Indignati igitur nostri,³ ad castellum
 usque perveniunt. Rustici autem⁴ obviam nobis usque⁵
 ad pedem montis, in quo castellum erat, venire
 dubitaverunt.⁶ Tunc nostri accepto consilio,
 ordines peditum et militum constituerunt, et

1. volebant ... B, D and J.

2. castellum suum ... A, C, E, F, D and J.

3. indignati itaque nostri ... D and J. Indignati nostri
 ... B.

4. Om. autem ... B.

5. nobis obviam usque ... A, C and G.

6. venire non dubitaverunt ... D and J.

 a. The fortress of Hoshn al-Akrad, where later was built
 the famous Kerak des Chevaliers: Runciman, op.cit., vol. I
 (The First Crusade), Bk. V, Chap. I, p. 269. They attacked
 the castle for the first time on about the 28th January,
 1099.

sic a tribus partibus, per altitudinem montis
 ascendentes, agmina rusticorum fugere compulerunt.
 Erat enim circiter triginta millia Sarraceni,
 et castella ipsorum erat¹ in descensu cuiusdam
 maximi montis,² et propterea cum volebant
 refugiebant ad castellum, et alii superiorem
 montem,³ et sic aliquantulum nobis resistebant.
 Tandem exclamavimus signum solitum in necessi-
 tatibus nostris, "DEUS ADIUVA",⁴ et inimici nostri
 ita turbati sunt, ut usque ad centum, solo timore
 et impetu sociorum suorum, sine vulneribus, in
 ingressu castelli mortui remanerent. Erat autem
 maxima praeda bovum et equorum et ovium extra
 castellum, ubi populus noster⁵ occupabatur. Dumque
 comes cum quibusdam militibus bello intenderet,
 pauperes nostri, accepta praeda, unus post alium

1. Om. erat ... B.

2. in descensu montis cuiusdam maximi ... C and G.

3. montis parte ... D and J. monte ... F and H.

4. DEUS ADIUVA DEUS ADIUVA... A, C, D, E, F, H and J.

5. Om. noster ... B.

redire coeperunt, deinde pedites pauperes¹ viam tenebant, post eos milites plebei.² Erant autem³ tentoria nostra longe a castello quasi decem milliaribus. Interea comes, milites et populum hospitari iubebat. Videntes autem Sarraceni, qui ad superiorem montem ascenderant,⁴ et hi qui in castello erant,⁵ quod maxima pars nostrorum discesserat, ventilare ad invicem coeperunt, ut coniungerentur. Comes vero dum hæc negligit, pene se derelictum a militibus suis reperit.⁶ Erat enim⁷ collis in quo castellum erat multum⁸ arduus et lapideus, et ardua semita, per quam unus equus post alium vix⁹ ire poterat. Hac

-
1. Om. pauperes ... D and J.
 2. tenebant, postea milites plebei ... D and J. tenebant, post hæc milites plebei ... B.
 3. Om. autem ... D.
 4. conscenderant ... F, G and H.
 5. et hi qui erant in castello ... B, D and J.
 6. suis vidit ... B.
 7. Om. enim ... D and J.
 8. collis in castellum multum ... B.
 9. et arduum semita, per quam unusquisquam equus post alium vix ... B.

itaque difficultate comprehensus comes, quasi
 versus illos, qui de superiori monte descendebant,
 pergere cum sociis coepit, quasi pugnaturus. Sarraceni
 primo¹ paululum ad adventum comitis dubitaverunt.²
 Tunc nostri, verso itinere, in vallem quasi securi³
 tendebant. Videntes Sarraceni se frustratos, et
 nostros secure descendere, et hi de castello, et
 hi de montibus, pariter nostris incurrunt. Coacti
 itaque nostri⁴ alii ab equis suis descenderunt,
 alii se praecipites per abrupta dederunt, et sic
 cum maximo periculo mortem evaserunt: quidam vero
 viriliter pugnando, mortui sunt. Hoc unum certum
 didicimus,⁵ quod nunquam fuit in maiori periculo
 vitae suae comes.⁶

⁷Itaque iratus sibi et suis, reversus

-
1. pugnaturus, qui primo ... D and J. quasi primo ... B.
 2. non dubitaverunt ... D and J.
 3. Om. quasi securi ... B.
 4. descendere pariter et hi de montibus pariter nostris
incurrunt alii ab ... B.
 5. scimus ... B, D and J.
 6. nunquam fuit comes in maiori periculo vitae suae ... D
and J.
 7. comes. XX I - taque ... B.

ad exercitum consilium convocavit, et questus multum quod sine licentia milites redissent,¹ et se in periculo mortis reliquissent. Promiserunt² omnes se nunquam a castelli oppugnatione discessuros, donec funditus, per Dei gratiam eversum sit.³ Sed Deus qui eos conducebat, ne in quibuslibet viribus impedirentur, ita terruit castellanos per noctem, ut nec interfectos suos sepulturae tradidissent, dum praecipites in fugam ferebantur. Mane autem facto cum venissemus ibi, spolia tantum et castrum vacuum ab⁴ hominibus invenimus.⁵ Erant⁶ eo tempore nobiscum legati ab Ammirato Camelae, rege Babylonis et a rege Tripolis.⁷ Hi cum audissent⁸ audaciam et fortitudinem nostram,

-
1. et conquesetus est multum de militibus quod sine licentia redissent ... D and J.
 2. Tunc promiserunt ... D and J.
 3. eversum esset ... B, D and J.
 4. Om. ab ... A, C and G.
 5. vacuum invenimus ... B.
 6. Erant autem ... B, D and J.
 7. ammirato Camelae et a rege Tripolis ... A, C, E, F, G and H.
ammirato Babylonis et a rege Tripolis ... B.
 8. viderent ... B, D, E, F, H and J.

licentiam a comite deprecabantur, dicentes se quam certissime reversuros. Dimissi itaque legati¹ illi cum nostris, brevi tempore cum magnis muneribus et multis equis reversi sunt. Terruerat enim totam illam regionem,² castelli oppugnatio,³ quoniam nunquam ante ab aliquibus potuit expugnari. Propterea illius incolae regionis, cum multis supplicationibus et muneribus ad comitem mittebant, praecantes, ut dum civitates⁴ et castella eorum recipi faceret, interim signa et sigilla sua eis dirigeret.

⁵ Etenim mos erat in exercitu, ut si signum⁶ alcuius Franci in civitate aut castello reperiretur, a nullo postea oppugnaretur.⁷ ^a Quare rex Tripolis

1. Om. legati ... D and J.

2. totam regionem illam ... D and J.

3. expugnatio ... F and H.

4. praecantes eum ut civitates ... B.

5. E - tenim ... D: J also has a division at this point.

6. Om. signum ... A.

7. expugnaretur ... E, F and H.

- - - - -

a. Raymond later explains this custom of the army again: vid. inf., p. 304 et n.2.

signa comitis in castellis suis posuit. Erat eo tempore tantum nomen comitis, ut nullius unquam nomini priorum impar esse¹ videretur.

²Cumque milites nostri qui allegati Tripolim fuerant, regias opes et ditissima regna et populosam civitatem viderent, comiti persuaserunt ut castellum Archados munitissimum³ et inexpugnabile viribus humanis obsideret, habiturus post quartum vel quintum diem a rege Tripolis quantum auri et argenti desideraret. Itaque obsedimus pro voluntate eorum castellum^a ubi tantos⁴ labores passi sunt⁵ viri fortes,⁶ ut nusquam amplius. Praeterea tantos actales milites ibi⁷ perdidimus quod relatu gravissimum est. Interfectus est ibi

-
1. nomini principibus par esse ... B.
 2. ... videretur. XXI C - unique ... B.
 3. castellum munitissimum Archados ... D and J.
 4. multos ... B.
 5. sunt passi ... D and J.
 6. nostri viri fortes ... B, D and J.
 7. om. ibi ... A, E, F and H.

- - - - -

a. The siege of Arqa began on the 14th February, 1099.

dominus Pontius de Baladuno,^a cum lapide de petraria, cuius
ago precibus ad omnes orthodoxos, et maxime ad transappinos et ad
te, reverende praesul Vivariensis, hoc opus cui
scribere curavi.²

³Nunc autem quod reliquum est, Deo
inspirante, qui haec omnia fecit, eadem caritate⁴
qua incepi, perficere curabo.⁵ Oro igitur et
obsecro omnes qui haec audituri sunt, ut credant
haec ita fuisse. Quod si quicquam ego praeter
credita⁶ et visa studio⁷ vel odio alicuius
apposui, apponat mihi Deus omnes plagas inferni⁸

-
1. Om. dominus ... C, E, F and G.
 2. cui hoc opus scribere curavi ... D and J. hoc opus
scribere curavi ... B.
 3. N - unc ... J.
 4. hilaritate ... B, D and J.
 5. O - ro ... D.
 6. audita ... B.
 7. studeo referre ... D and J.
 8. inferni plagas ... D and J. plagas omnis inferni ... H.

a. The co-author of Raymond of Aguilers: vid. sup., p. 5,
and the Historical Introduction, Section II, pp. IV-VIII.

et deleat me de libro vitae. Etenim licet ut¹ plurima ignorem, hoc unum scio, quia cum promotus ad sacerdotium in itinere Dei sim, magis debeo obedire Deo testificando² veritatem, quam in texendo mendacia, alicuius muneris captare dispendia. Sed quia secundum apostolum, caritas nunquam excidit,^a eadem caritate hoc opus agere volo: auxilietur mihi Deus. Obiit karissimus meus in Domino Pontius de Saladuno, sicut iam dictum est, apud castrum Archados.³

-
1. Om. ut ... B. licet ut alia ... D and J.
 2. Deo obedire testificando ... D and J.
 3. Obiit karissimus meus etc ... Om. A, C, E, F, G and H. ... captare dispendia. Obiit karissimus meus etc ... castrum Archados. Sed quia secundum apostolum etc. ... B, D and J: for a discussion of the importance of this variant, vid. sup., Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CXLVIII.

-
- a. I Corinthios, xiii, 8.
 - (2a. Om. hoc opus ...E & F.
caritate qua agere ...C)

¹Cumque in hac obsidione aliquam moram fecissemus, venerunt ad nos naves nostrae² ab Antiochia et Laodicia, et multae aliae naves Veneticorum et Graecorum, cum frumento, vino et oleo³ et hordeo et carne porcina et aliis venalibus. Sed quia hoc castrum a mari aberat per milliarium, nec in portu poterant esse naves, revertebantur nautae laodiciae ad portum,⁴ et⁵ ad portum Tortosae. Hanc enim Tortosam,⁶ civitatem valde firmissimam, muris et antemuralibus exstructam et refertam pluribus bonis, eius cives Sarraceni, pro solo timore nostri exercitus reliquerunt.^{7a}

-
1. mihi Deus. XXII C - unique... B. Jalso has a division here.
 2. nostrae naves...B, D & J.
 3. Om. et oleo...A, B, D, E, F, H & J.
 4. ad Laodiciam portum...D & J.
 5. Om. et ...b.
 6. Hanc Tortosam enim...A, E, F & H.
 7. refertam omnibus bonis, reliquerunt cives eius Sarraceni solo timore nostri exercitus. ..B, D & J.
-

- a. The city was taken by surprise in a Provencal raid on the 17th February, 1099. For a full description vid. Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxxiv, pp. 83-84.

Et enim tantum effecerat Deus timorem nostrum in Sarracenos et Arabes illius regionis, ut nos omnia crederent posse, et quae poteramus, velle exterminare. Sed hoc ante obsidionem Archados. Hanc autem obsidionem, quia maxime pro aliis contra iusticiam, quam pro Deo posuimus, noluit promovere eam Deus, sed omnia adversa nobis ibi¹ tribuit.² Et erat mirum, quia³ cum ad alia bella et assultus omnes prompti et parati essent,^a ad hoc segnes et inutiles inveniebantur. Si qui vero ferventes spiritu agere vellent aliquid,⁴ vel ipsi vulnerabantur, vel quod inceperant frustra eveniebat.

1. Om. ibi ...D & J.

2. Sed nobis omnia adversa ibi tribuit ..G.

3. Om. quia ..B, D & J.

4. agere aliquid vellent ...B, D & J.

a. At the beginning of the seige of Arqa several other raids of a very successful kind were conducted. That against Tortosa has already been mentioned (vid. sup. pp. 203 et n.a) and the Gesta mentions another against Tripoli: Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxxiv, p.83.

¹ Migravit ibi ² gloriose Anselmus de
 Riberi Monte. ^{3a} etenim cum surrexisset mane, vocavit

-
1. eveniebat. XXIII M - igravit ...B.
Ubi Anselmus de Riberi Monte obiit; XXVII^o
Capitulo
 M - igravit ...E.
 eveniebat. XVII M - igravit ...F & H.
 2. Migravit hic ...B, D & J.
 Migravit igitur ...G.
 3. Ripamondi ..D & J.
-

- a. Anselm was Lord of Ribemont near St. Quentin:
Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. X, xxv, p. 85 et n.2.
 Anselm wrote two letters which have survived,
 both from the camp at Antioch, and both addressed
 to Manasses, Archbishop of Rheims (1093-1106;
 Gams, op. cit., p. 608) describing the course
 of the Crusade. (Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe,
 VIII, p. 144 & XV, p. 156). From the first of
 these it appears that at one time he held an
 official position, for he says that he returned
 to the army on the day of the battle of Dorylaeum
..ab imperatore, ad quem se miserant principes
pro communi utilitate (Hagenmeyer op. cit.
 pp. 145, 8). Certainly he appears to have been
 well known; the Gesta (loc. cit.) mentions him,
 and so does Albert of Aix: R.H.C. (Occ.) vol.
 IV, Lib. V, xxxi, p. 452.

ad se sacerdotes, et de negligentis et peccatis suis¹ confessus, misericordiam a Deo et ab ipsis deprecabatur, denuntians eis imminere sibi² vitae suae finem. Cumque admirarentur de hoc, quod³ sanum et incolumen eum videbant, dixit eis; "Nolite mirari, sed audite me potius. Hac nocte vidi dominum Engelrandum⁴ de Sancto Paulo,^a qui

-
1. de negligentis suis et peccatis ...D & J.
 2. Om. sibi D & J.
 3. quia ..B, D & J.
 4. Egelranum ..D & J. Engalrandum ...H.
-

- a. Englebert of St. Pol: Albert of Aix makes fairly frequent mention of him as a brave and intrepid knight. He first records his presence at the siege of Nicea in a list of the notable Lords amongst the North French forces: Hugo comes de Sancto Paulo, Engilrandus, eiusdem Hugonis filius, miles egregius: R.H.C. (Occ) vol. IV, Lib. II, xxii, p. 315. Albert records Englebert's death at the siege of Marra, and says that he was buried in the church of St. Andrew there: Lib. V, xxx, p. 451.

apud Marram interfectus est: non in somnis quidem,¹ sed vigilanter. Et dixi ad eum 'Quid est hoc? quia vos mortuus eratis, et ecce nunc vivitis.' Et ille² respondit, 'Equidem non moriuntur illi, qui in Christi servitio vitam finiunt.' Cum vero rursus quaererem ab eodem de pulchritudine eius, quae nimia erat, unde accidisset ei, respondit mihi, 'Non debes mirari super pulchritudine mea, cum in tam pulchram domum habitem.' Et continuo ostendit mihi domum quamdam in coelo ita pulchram ut nihil pulchrius ego crederem. Cumque ego³ obstupescerem ad splendorem domus illius, dixit mihi,⁴ 'Multo tibi pulchrior praeparatur, usque in crastinum.' Et his dictis, sublatus est. "Contigit autem die eodem⁵ cum pluribus haec enarasset⁶ Anselmus,⁷ ut ad pugnam progredieretur

1. Om. quidem D & J.

2. Om. ille ...B.

3. Om ego ..D & J.

4. Om. dixit mihi ..B.

5. eodem die...E. F & H.

6. Contigit autem eo die cum haec pluribus enarasset ..C, D, G & J.

7. idem Anselmus ... D & J.

contra Sarracenos, qui de castello latenter egressi, usque ad tentoria nostra¹ venire volebant,² ut aliquid inde subriperent, vel alicui nocerent. Sed cum haec pugna invaluisse ex utraque parte, et Anselmus viriliter resisteret, de lapide tormenti in capite percussus est, atque sic ad locum sibi a Deo paratum,³ migravit ab hoc saeculo.

⁴Venit hic ad nos legatus quidam⁵ a rege Babylonis, et remisit ad nos legatos nostros cum ipso, quos tenuerat captivos per annum.^{6a}

-
1. Om. nostra ..B.
 2. solebant ..B, D & J.
 3. sibi praeparatum a Deo ..C.
 4. saeculo. XIIII V - enit ...B.
V - enit ..D : J also has a division at this point.
 5. quidam legatus .. C & G.
 6. per omnium ..G.
-

- a. It will be recalled that Egyptian legates had been in the Crusader camp in early February 1098, and had taken away with them for negotiations some crusader emissaries: vid. sup. pp. 59 (et n.a) - 60.

This last embassy actually arrived very late in the siege; for a full discussion of Raymond's confusing chronology at this point vid. sup. Historical Introduction, Section IV, pp. XCI-XCII.

Dubitaverat enim an faceret nobiscum amicitiam
 an cum Turcis. Volebamus nos in hoc convenire
 cum eo, "Si faceret nobis auxilium a Iherusalem,¹
 vel si² redderet nobis Iherusalem cum³ pertinentiis
 suis, redderemus nos ei omnes civitates quas Turci
 ei abstulerant,⁴ cum caperemus eas. Alias autem
 civitates Turcorum quae de regno eius non fuerunt,
 si cum auxilio eius⁵ caperentur, inter nos⁶ partiremur."
 Turci vero ut nobis relatum est, volebant hoc facere
 illi, "Si veniret cum ipsis⁷ contra nos in praelium,
 colerentque Alim,⁸ quem ipse colit, qui est de genere
 Mahumeth,⁹ et acciperent monetam eius, et remitterent

-
1. de Iherusalem auxilium ...D & J.
 auxilium de Iherusalem ...B. auxilium ad
 Iherusalem ..C & G.
 2. Om. xi . A, C, E, F, G & H.
 3. auxilium ad Iherusalem cum pertinentiis suis ...C.
 4. redderemus nos civitates omnes suas quas ei
 Turci abstulerant...D & J.
 5. auxilio illius ..B, D & J.
 6. Om. inter nos ..B, D & J.
 7. Om. cum ipsis ..D & J.
 8. praelium colerent Alim ..E, F & H. et colerent
 Alim ..B, D & J.
 9. Bahumeth ..D & J.

tributa quaedam,¹ "et multa alia facerent ei quae ego non satis novi.² Sciebat de nobis quod pauci eramus, sciebat quod³ imperator Alexius usque ad mortem nobis inimicabatur: unde nos litteras imperatoris Alexii de nobis factas invenimus, confecto bello cum rege⁴ Babyloniorum apud Ascalonam^{5a} in tentoriis eiusdem regis. His atque aliis de causis⁶ ammiratus detinuit legatos nostros per annum captos, infra Babyloniam. Modo vero cum audisset, quod terram suam ingressi, villas et agros et universa⁷ vastaremus, mandavit nobis ut " Sine armis ducenti vel trecenti iremus Iherusalem et adorato Domino⁸ reverteremur."

1. et remitterent etc. ...Om. B.

2. alia, quae ego non satis novi, facerent ei ..D & J.
quae nos non satis novimus ..A, C, E, F, G & H.

3. ..eramus et quod ..D & J.

4. cum eodem rege ..D & J.

5. De bello apud Ascaloniam in fine libri invenies:
marginal note in D..

6. his itaque et aliis quae de ..F & H.

7. Om. universa ..D & J.

8. domino nostro ..D & J.

a. This is important as a reference ahead in time:
vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II,
CXXXVIII.

Sed nos irrisimus hoc, sperantes de Dei misericordia,
 minantes quod¹ nisi gratis redderet nobis
 Iherusalem,² Babyloniam calumniaremur ei.³
 habebat enim⁴ ammiratus Iherusalem eo tempore.
 Etenim cum audisset quod Turci essent a nobis
 superati apud Antiochiam, venit ad oppugnandum
 Iherusalem,^a sciens quod Turci totiens a nobis
 fusi atque fugati,⁵ non occurrerent sibi in

1. nuntiantes que quod ..F & H.

2. Iherusalem nobis ...A.

3. Om. ei ..E & F.

4. Om. enim ..E & F.

5. Turci toties fusi a nobis atque fugati ... D & J.
 quod Turci a nobis toties fusi atque fugati ..A & E.

a. Jerusalem was seized from the Ortoquid Turks
 by the Egyptians on 26th August, 1098: vid.
 Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la première Croisade,
 (312) pp. 184-186.

praelium. Tandem datis maximis muneribus his
qui eam defendebant, recepit civitatem Iherusalem,¹
et obtulit candelas et incensum ad Sepulchrum
Domini et in Calvario monte.² Sed iam ad
obsidionem redeamus.

³Dum ut⁴ diximus, exercitus noster
multum⁵ laboraret in oppugnatione Archados,
nuntiatum est nobis quod Papa Turcorum^a veniret contra
nos in praelium, et quia erat de genere Mahumeth,
sequebantur⁶ eum gentes sine numero. Igitur

1. Om. Iherusalem ...B.

2. monte. XXV B - ed ...B.

3. D - um ...D : J also has a division at this point.

4. Dum enim ut ...E, F & H.

5. multum exercitus noster ...C & G.

6. sequerentur ...D & J.

a. i.e. The Caliph of Baghdad, at this time al -
Mustashir, 1094-1118. Baghdad was of course at
this time the seat of the Abbassid Capliate:
Setton and Baldwin, op. cit. Index, p. 654.

mandatum est per exercitum ut omnes
 praepararent se ad pugnam.¹ Et miserunt episcopum
 Albariensem² ad ducem et ad Flandrensem comitem
 qui Gibellum obsederant^a, quod est³ castrum
 supra mare, quasi loco medio inter Antiochiam
 et castrum Archados, longe ab utroque duobus
 diebus. Illi vero accepto nuntio de bello,
 relictis obsidione, ad nos celeriter⁴ venerunt.

-
1. mandatum est nobis ut nos praepararemur ad pugnam...D & J.
 2. Et episcopum Albariensem miserunt ..E, F & H.
 3. quae est ...F & H.
 4. celeriter ad nos ...D & J.
-

- a. Godfrey of Lorraine and Robert of Flanders had left Antioch in late February 1099, probably under very heavy popular pressure : vid. sup. Historical Introduction Section II, p. LXVI et nl. but Bohemund left them at Laodicia and returned to Antioch. Robert and Godfrey thereafter went on to begin the siege of Gibella on March 1st, 1099: Albert of Aix, in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. IV, lib. V, xxxiii, p. 453.

It will be recalled that Raymond of Toulouse had considered attacking Gibella: vid. sup. pp. 189-191.

Interim inventum est falsum, et quod Sarraceni
illud composuerant, ut nobis taliter deterritis,
aliquantulum respirare possent¹ obsessi. Coniunctis
itaque exercitibus nostris,² coeperunt ostendere illi³
de parte comitis equos farios et divitias suas quas
dederat illis Deus in regionibus Sarracenorum,
eo quod pro Deo se morti⁴ exposuissent; at alii
paupertatem suam praetendebant.

⁵Praedicatum est⁶ eo tempore ut daret
populus decimas de omnibus quas cepisset^a,

-
1. Om. possent...B.
 2. Om. nostris..D & J.
 3. illi qui ..B.
 4. eo quod morti se pro Deo ...D & J.
 5. praetendebant. Gap left but no numeral:
ought to be XXVI P - raedicatum ...B.
 6. est vero ..A, F & H.
-

- a. It will be recalled that a demand for a tenth
to support the poor was one of the demands
expressed in Peter Bartholomew's tenth vision
at Marra: vid. sup. pp. 171 - 172. The matter
will be referred to get again in Peter's eleventh
vision: vid. inf. p. 228 et n.a.

quoniam multi pauperes erant in exercitu, et multi infirmi: et mandatum est ut quartum partem redderent sacerdotibus suis ad quorum missas veniebant; et quartum episcopis; reliquas vero duas Petro heremita quem pauperibus de clero et populo praefecerant.¹ Ideoque duas partes accipiebat, vidilicet unam² pro his qui de clero erant³ et alteram pro his de populo.⁴ Multiplicabat ideo⁵ Deus⁶ exercitum nostrum, adeo in equis et mulis et camelis et aliis vitae necessariis, ut nobis ipsis in mirum et⁷ in stuporem fieret. Orta est itaque ex rerum opulentia, contentio atque superbia inter

-
1. quem praefecerant pauperibus (de pauperibus.. A & E) de clero et populo ...X, E, F & H.
 2. unam vidilicet ..D & J.
 3. pro his qui erant de clero...B, D & J.
 4. pro his qui erant de populo ...B, D & J.
 5. Multiplicabat itaque...D & J.
 6. Multiplicabat Deus ideo...A.
 7. ac in ...F & H.

principes: adeo ut illi qui Deum intime
diligebant,¹ rerum inopiam atque bella
formidolosa nobis² imminere praeoptarent.
Volebat nobis dare³ rex Tripolis
quindecim millia aureorum, Sarracenae
monetae; praeterea equos et mulos et
vestes multas, et tributa deinceps
singulis annis, multo his ampliora.⁴
Valebat quippe unus aureus eo tempore⁵
octo vel novem solidos monetae nostri exercitus.
Erat haec nostra moneta:⁶ Pictavinia^a,

1. diligebant intime...G.

2. Om. nobis...B.

3. dare nobis ...B.

4. ...ampliora, si non expugnaretur a nobis...D & J:
this appears to be one of the explanatory
insertions of *m*: vid. sup. Critical Introduc-
tion, Section II, p. XLV.

5. Om. eo tempore...D & J.

6. Erat autem haec nostra moneta...A.
Erat moneta nostra haec...D & J.

a. The money of Poitou: DuCange, op. cit. vol.IV,
Moneta, p. 527.

Caſtenses^a, Mansei^b, Luccenses^c, Valentinenses^d,
 Mergoresi^e et duo Pogesi^f pro uno istorum.
 Ille vero¹ dominus Gibelli metuens ne rursus
 oppugnaretur, misit ad nostros principes²
 quinque millia aureos et equos et mulos et multum
 vinum:³ tunc annonam sufficientem habebamus,⁴ et
 non solum isti, sed de multis civitatibus et
 castellis munera nobis mittebant.⁵ Baptizabantur

-
1. Ille vero...B, D & J.
 2. ad principes nostros...B, D & J.
 3. vinum multum...D & J.
 4. annonam enim sufficientem habebamus...D & J.
 annonam sufficientem tunc habebamus...B.
 5. et non solum etc...Om. D & J.

-
- a. The money of Chartres: DuCange op. cit. vol. IV,
Moneta p. 521.
 - b. The money of Le Mans: *ibid.* p. 521.
 - c. The money of the County of Anjou: *ibid.* p. 524.
 - d. The money of Valence on the Rhone: *ibid.* p. 530.
 - e. The money of Montpellier: *ibid.* pp. 525-526.
 - f. The money of Le Puy: *ibid.* p. 527.

etiam aliqui Sarracenorum, timore et zelo nostrae legis, anathematizantes Mahumeth et progeniem eius ~~omnem~~.¹ Ob hoc itaque mittebant quisque de principibus nostris ad civitates Sarracenorum legatos cum litteris, denuntians² se esse³ dominum totius exercitus. Sic itaque agebant eo tempore nostri principes. Et maxime Tancredus rem conturbabat, qui cum accepisset a comite Raymundo⁴ quinque millia solidorum et duos equos farios optimos, eo pacto⁵ ut in servitio eius esset usque in⁶ Iherusalem, volebat modo discedere et esse cum duce Lotharingiae, et ob hoc multae lites habitae sunt. Tandem satis⁷ male discessit a comite.

⁸Multae revelationes eo tempore nobis denunciatae sunt, quae nobis a Deo mandabantur. quarum una haec est, quae sub nomine ipsius scripta est, qui eam vidit.⁹

1. omnem progeniem eius...D & J.

2. dicens...D & J.

3. Om. esse...B, C, E, F, G & H.

4. Om. Raymundo...B.

5. Om. eo pacto...B, D & J.

6. Om. in...D & J.

7. Om. satis...D & J.

8. M - ultae...D : J also has a division at this point.

9. qui vidit eam...B, D & J.

(De Visione quam vidit Petrus Bartholomeus)¹

"Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri²

millesimo nonagesimo nono, indictione³ septima,

-
1. Manuscripts A, C & G have a gap left here for a heading, and a capital (A - nno); this heading is taken from the Index Capitulorum of F: vid. sup. p. 3. vidit eam. Explicit Liber III : Incipit Liber Quartus. A - nno ...B.
A - nno ...D.
De multis aliis rebus et Revelationibus: C^o XXVIII^o, A - nno ...E.
eam vidit, XVIII A - nno ...F & H.
 2. Domini nostri Iesu Christi ...D & J.
 3. Domini nostri Iesu Christi, indictione...B.

epacata vicesima sexta, concurrente quinto nonis
 Aprilis^a, in nocte, cum ego Petrus Bartholomeus^{lb}
 iacerem in capella comitis sancti Aegidii ad obsidionem
 Arcados, cogitare mecum coepi de sacerdote illo
 cui Dominus cum cruce apparuit, cum a Turcis
 obsessi in Antiochias teneremur^c, atque cum
 multum mirarer quod nunquam cum cruce mihi
 apparuerat, vidi illic Dominum ingredientem, et
 apostolos eius Petrum et Andream et alium quemdam
 magnum et spissum, bruno colore^{et subcalve}, et magnis oculis.
 Et dixit mihi Dominus,¹ 'Quid agis', Et respondi,
 'Domine ego sto,'² Et ait iterum Dominus, 'Tu pene
 cum aliis submersus esses. Sed quid modo cogitabas?'

-
1. Om. Bartholomeus...B, D & J.
 2. Et ait mihi Dominus...B, D & J.
 3. Ego sto Domine...A.
-

- a. The 5th April, 1099.
- b. This was Peter's eleventh vision in fact. It is possible that Raymond has here incorporated a formal statement by Peter read at his trial: Vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CXLI.
- c. This refers to the vision of the priest Stephen Valentine, at Antioch on 10th June, 1098: vid. sup. pp. 101-106.

Et respondi, 'Domine Pater, ego de sacerdote¹ cui cum cruce apparuisti, cogitabam.' Et Dominus, 'Ego scio istud, 'Et deinceps, 'Crede quia ego sum Dominus, pro quo omnes huc venistis,² et qui pro peccatoribus in³ Iherusalem in cruce passus sum, sicut modo videbis. 'Et in ipsa hora vidi ibi⁴ quamdam crucem de duobus lignis nigris atque rotundis factam, non politam neque adaptam, nisi quod in medio trabes incisae se invicem complectebantur. Et ait mihi Dominus, 'Ecce crucem, quia crucem quaerebas.' Et fuit in cruce illa Dominus sic distentus et crucifixus, sicut in tempore passionis. Petrus autem capite suo a dextris sustinebat:⁵ Andreas vero a sinistris in collo sustinebat:⁶ tertius⁷ ille a tergo manibus sustinebat. Et dixit Dominus ad me,⁸ 'Haec

1. sacerdote illo...D & J.

2. huc omnes venistis...B.

3. Om. in ...F & H.

4. Om. ibi...C, D, E, G & J.

5. Petrus autem in capite suo, illam a dextris sustinebat...D & J.
Petrus autem capite suo illum a dextra sustinebat ...B.

6. Andreas a sinistris in collo: ...B, D & J.

7. tertius vero...D & J. tertius igitur ...C & G.

8. Et dixit mihi Dominus...B, D & J.

dices populo meo, quia sic me vidisti. Vides has quinque plagas meas? Sic vos quinque ordinibus consistis. Primus ordo est non reformidantium tela vel gladios, nec aliquid genus tormenti. Ordo iste mihi similis est.¹ Ego² enim in Iherusalem veni, gladios et lanceas fustes et baculos, demum et crucem³ non dubitavi. Moriuntur pro me, et ego pro⁴ eis mortuus sum; et⁵ ego sum in eis et ipsi in me.⁶ Cum vero hi tales obeunt, a dextris Dei collocantur, ubi post resurrectionem, in coelum ascendens consedi^a. Secundus autem⁷ ordo est eorum qui in

-
1. Ordo iste similis mihi est...D & J.
 2. est. Ego enim in Iherusalem veni, gladios et lanceas et genus tormenti. Ordo iste similis mihi est. ...J.
 3. crucem parti...B.
 4. ego quoque pro...D & J.
eo que pro ...E, F & H.
 5. Om. et ...D & J.
 6. et ipsi sunt in me...D & J. et ipsi in me sunt ...C & G.
 7. Om. autem...A, F & H.
-

a. Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum scripturas,
Et ascendit in coelum, sedit ad dexteram patris.
(Nicene Creed: Missale Romanum.)

subsidio prioribus sunt, atque eos a tergo¹
 custodiunt, ad quos etiam illi refugere possunt.²
 Hi vero apostolis similes sunt,³ qui me seque-
 bantur, mecumque manducabant. Tertius autem⁴
 ordo est illorum⁵ qui lapides et tela prioribus
 ministrant. Hi vero⁶ similes illis sunt,⁷ qui
 cum viderent me in cruce positum,⁸ de passione
 mea dolentes, pectora sua percutiebant, iniuriam
 mihi fieri⁹ proclamantes. Quartus quidem ordo
 est eorum qui, videntes bellum surgere,¹⁰ se
 domibus intrudunt atque ad negotia sua con-
 vertuntur, non credentes in virtute mea victoriam

-
1. a tergo eos...D & J.
 2. refugere illi possunt...D & J.
 3. sunt similes...B, D & J.
 4. Tertius vero...D & J. Om. autem...A, F & H.
 5. est eorum...B, D & J.
 6. Hi namque...D & J.
 7. similes sunt illis...B, D & J.
 8. Om. positum...D & J.
 9. iniuriam fieri mihi...D & J.
 10. insurgere...D & J.

consistere, sed in hominum probitate. Hi tales, similes illis sunt¹ qui dixerunt, Deus est mortis, crucifigatur, quia se regem² fecit, et Dei filium se³ dixit.^a Quintus autem⁴ ordo est eorum,⁵ qui cum belli clamorem audiunt, de longe speculantes clamoris causas requirunt, et ignaviae non virtutis exempla aliis⁶ tribuunt, et non solum pericula pro me, verum etiam pro fratribus subire nolunt, sed sub specie cavendi, alios volentes pugnare, vel pugnatoribus arma ministrare, secum ad speculandum invitant; hi⁷ Iudae proditori, et Pilato⁸ iudici similes sunt! ⁹Erat autem nudus in cruce Dominus; tantum¹⁰ linteolo praecinctus, a genibus usque ad lumbos,

-
1. illis sunt similes...B, D & J.
 2. regem se...D & J.
 3. se esse...C & G.
 4. Om. autem...G.
 5. eorum est...D & J.
 6. aliis exempla...D & J.
 7. ; hique Iudae...C, E, F, G & H.
 8. et Pontio Pilato...A, F & H.
 9. similes sunt. II E - rat ...B.
 10. tamen...D & J.
-

a. Reminiscent of Matt. XXVI, 66, Marc. XIV, 64; Luc. XXIII, 21-23; Joann. XIX, 6-7.

et erat linteolum medio colore,¹ inter nigrum et rubeum.² Et circa oram habebat vittas albas, et rubeas atque virides. Post sublata cruce, remansit in habitu in quo prius venerat Dominus.³ Et dixi ego⁴ ad eum, 'Domine Deus, si haec dixero non mihi credent'.⁵ Et respondit mihi Dominus, 'Vis cognoscere eos qui his non credent,' Et dixi, 'etiam Domine'. Et Dominus,⁶ 'Congreget comes principes et populum, disponantque de bello, vel de castri oppugnatione aliquid, cum tempus fuerit; proclametque notissimus praeco, DEUS ADIUVA, ter, atque dispositum complere tendat. Tunc sicut dixi tibi⁷ ordines videbis, et tu et alii qui his creditis, incredulos⁸ distinguetis. Et dixi 'Domine,⁹ quid de incredulis faciemus?'¹⁰ 'Et

-
1. colore, coloratum...D & J.
 2. inter rubeum et nigrum...B.
 3. venerat propter Dominus...B.
 4. Om. ego...A, D & J.
 5. mihi non crederent...A. non credent mihi...D & J.
 6. O. Et Dominus...A, B, C, E, F, G & H.
 7. tibi dixi...D & J.
 8. et incredulos...D & J.
 9. Om. Domine...C, E, G, F & H.
 10. fiet...C, E, G.

respondit mihi Dominus, 'Non parcatis eis, sed occidite, quia proditores mei sunt, fratres Iudae Iscarioth.¹ Res vero illorum his qui de priori ordine sunt concedite, prout necessariae fuerint.² Si sic agitis, invenistis viam rectam quam hactenus circuistis. Et sicut cetera quae dixisti, incommutata eis provenerunt,² et haec quoque evenient.³ Scis tu quam gentem praecipue elegerim?' Et respondi, 'Iudaeorum gentem,'⁴ Et Dominus, 'Hi quoniam⁵ increduli fuerunt, odio eos habui, et inferiores omnibus gentibus stabilivi. Videte itaque ne increduli sitis. Alioquin, vobis remanentibus cum Iudaeis, alios populos assumam, et per ipsos complebo quae vobis promiseram. Haec quoque dices ad eos: cur timent facere iustitiam? Et quid melius iusticia? Hanc iusticiam volo ut teneant: per familias et cognationes ponant iudices. Cum autem quilibet offenderit alium,⁶

1. Iscarioth...D & J.

2. quae eis dixisti incommutata...D & J.

3. venient...D & J.

4. Domine, gentem Iudaeorum...D & J.
Iudaeorum Domine...B.

5. Hi quam...A, B & D.

6. Om. alium...D.

dicat qui iniuriam patitur: Prater vellesne
 sic tibi fieri? Post haec nisi malefactor
 desierit, ex nomine suae potestatis ei contra-
 dicat; deinde iudex licenter a malefactore
 omnia bona sua auferat,¹ et medietas omnium
 sublatorum sit ei qui iniuriam patiebatur;²
 reliqua vero pars,³ potestatis. Si autem iudex
 aliqua de causa haec⁴ distulerit,⁵ tu vade ad
 eum et dic ei⁶ quod nisi⁷ ille se⁸ correxerit,
 non exsolvetur usque ad ultimum saeculi diem,

-
1. licenter iudex a malefactore omnia bona sibi
 auferat...D & J.
 omnia auferat...B.
 2. medietatis sit eius qui iniuriam patiebatur...D & J.
 3. Om. pars...D & J.
 4. haec facere...D & J.
 5. abstulerit...A.
 6. vade ad eum et corripis eum et dic...D & J.
 7. vade ad eum et eum prohibere nisi...B.
 8. Om. se...A, B, C, E, F, G & H.

nisi remiseris illi. Scisne¹ quam gravis res sit² prohibitum? Et enim ego prohibui Adae de arbore scientiae boni et mali³ ne tangeret; transgressus est⁴ meum prohibitum, et ipse et posteri sui in captivitate misera fuerunt, donec ego veniens in carne eos morte crucis moriendo redemi. De decimis vero, quidam bene⁵ fecerunt, quod eas sicut praecepi dederunt.^a Multiplicabo itaque eos,⁶ atque inter alios cognoscibiles faciam!⁷ Cum autem haec dixisset Dominus, coepi ab eo quaerere⁸ ut pro sua caritate⁹ litterarum scientiam, quam nuper mihi abstulerat, redderet.^b

1. Nescis ne...B, D & J.

2. quam grave sit...D & J.

3. Om. boni et mali...D & J.

4. Om. est...D & J. transgressus vero...B.

5. ben quidam...B, D & J.

6. illos...B, D & J.

7. faciam. III C - um...B.

8. cepi postulare ab eo...D & J. cepi ab eo postulare
...B.

9. pro caritate sua...B, D & J.

a. Concerning this tenth vid. sup. pp. 214 et n.a.
- 215.

b. Peter Bartholemew had apparently lost his knowledge of letters at the time of the second siege of Antioch, a result, it appears, of his revelations: vid. sup. pp. 114 et n.a.

Et dixit mihi Dominus,¹ 'Non sufficiunt tibi ad enarrandum ea quae nosti?'² et tamen vis scire plurima.'³ Et continuo ita mihi visus sum sapiens, ut nihil sapere ultra rogarem, et ait Dominus, 'Sufficiunt tibi adhuc quae nosti?'⁴ Et respondi, 'Sufficiunt.' Et Dominus rursum, 'Quid dixi tibi? Responde.' 'Et ego nihil sciebam. Cumque mihi instaret ut aliquid eorum quae dixerat responderem sibi, respondi, 'Domine nihil novi'. Et ait Dominus,⁵ 'Vade et annuntia quae nosti, et sufficiunt tibi quae scis.'

⁶Cum autem haec fratribus ostendissemus,⁷ coeperunt quidam⁸ dicere, quod nunquam crederent quod huiusmodi homini loqueretur Deus et dimitteret

-
1. Et ait Dominus...D & J.
 2. tibi adhuc quae nosti...D.
 3. plurima...A & H.
 4. et tamen vis etc. ...Om. D.
 5. Et ait Dominus...Om. E.
 6. quae scis. IIII C - un ...B.
 7. ostendisse...B.
 8. Om. quidam...C.
ceperunt quidam ...A.

principes et episcopos¹ et ostenderet se rustico homini,² unde etiam de lancea Domini dubitabant. Quapropter convocavimus fratres illos quibus de lancea aliquando revelatum fuerat, et post haec Arnulfum^{3a} capellanum comitis Normanniae, qui quasi⁴ caput omnium incredulorum erat,⁵ et quia litteratus erat, credebant ei multi, et quaesivimus ab eo quare ipse dubitaret. Cumque diceret quia⁶ episcopus Podiensis inde dubitavit^b, respondit

-
1. episcopos et principes...B, D & J.
 2. homini rustico...D & J.
 3. Arnolfum...D & J.
 4. Om. quasi...B, D & J.
 5. Om. erat...B.
 6. diceret quod...B, D & J.

-
- a. Arnulf of Choques: on August 1st, 1099 he was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, only to be deposed at Christmas 1099. For some years he remained Archdeacon of Jerusalem, but was re-elected to the Patriarchate in 1112, and he reigned till his death in 1118. (Gams, op. cit. p. 452) Raymond gives a very hostile account of his election: vid. inf. pp. 358-359.
 - b. According to Raymond himself, the Bishop of Le Puy was at first sceptical of the revelations of Peter Bartholemew: vid. sup. p. 100.

quidam sacerdos nomine Petrus Desiderii.¹ "Ego
vidi post obitum eius² episcopum Podiensem et
beatum Nicolaum cum eo, et post multa alia, dixit
mihi episcopus haec³ Ego sum in uno choro cum
beato Nicolao, sed quia de lancea Domini⁴
dubitavi, qui maxime credere debuissen, deductus
sum in infernum, ubi⁵ capilli mei ex hac parte
capitis dextera⁶ et medietas barbae combusta
est^a, et licet in poena non sim, tamen clare
Deum⁷ videre non potero, donec capilli et barba
sicut ante fuerunt, mihi succreverint." Haec et

-
1. Petrus nomine Desiderii...D & J. Petrus Desiderii
nomine...B.
 2. Ego, post obitum eius vidi...D & J.
 3. nom. Haec...B, D & J.
 4. Om. Domini...B & G.
 5. ibique...B, D & J.
 6. dextera capitis...D & J.
 7. Deum clare...C & G. Dominum clare...E.
-

- a. This account of the sufferings of the Bishop in
hell for his scepticism concerning the lance is
like that found in Bartholemew's eighth vision
of the night of 3rd/4th August, 1098: vid. sup.
pp. 138 et n.b. - 139.

multa alia ex parte Dei praedixit nobis¹ sacerdos iste, quae postea evenerunt.² Sed haec suo loco dici poterunt^a.

³Accessit et alius quidam sacerdos, Ebrardus nomine^b, et dixit, "Eo tempore quo Turci obsidebant exercitum nostrum infra Antiochiam, ego eram Tripolim. Veneram enim illuc ante captam Antiochiam^{4c} pro vitae meae necessariis. Cum vero

1. Om. nobis...D & J.

2. nobis evenerunt...B, D & J.

3. poterunt. V A - Accessit...B.

4. antequam capta esset Antiochia...C, E & G.
ante captam civitatem ...B.

a. Peter had a series of visions which Raymond later narrates.

b. Raymond later tells us that Ebrardus stayed at Jerusalem after its capture: vid. inf. pp. 248-249 et n.a.

c. This is an interesting reflection on the wanderings of the crusaders in search of food during the siege of Antioch, and may be compared to the wanderings of Peter Bartholemew: vid. sup. pp. 95 et n.a. pp. 97, pp. 99-100.
It also casts light on the attitude of the other Muslim powers during the siege.

audissem quod Antiochia esset capta¹ et nostri
 intus ita² tenerentur obsessi,³ ut nullus ingredi
 vel egredi de nostris auderet, nisi furtim,⁴ et
 multa mala alia⁵ quae obsessis imminabant, et
 plurima falsa quae Sarraceni et Turci veris
 malis addebant, de vita mea saeculari⁶ dubius,
 ad ecclesiam quandam confugi,⁷ ubi⁸ ante maiestatem
 quandam Matris Domini procubui. Lacrymis⁹ et
 precibus appellare per eam Dei misericordiam¹⁰
 coepi. Cumque per aliquot dies id fecissem,

-
1. capta esset...B, D & J.
 2. ita intus...D & J.
 3. Om. obsessi...B.
 4. Om. nisi furtim...B, D & J.
 5. multa alia mala...F, G & H.
 6. Om. saeculari...B, D & J.
Turci de vita mea dubitabam...B.
 7. Om. ad ecclesiam quandam confugi...b.
 8. Ibi ...B, D & J.
 9. Lacrymis que...D & J.
 10. per eam misericordiam Domini...D & E.

permanens¹ impransus et dicens ei, 'O Karissima Domina,² isti peregrini sunt qui, dimissis omnibus³ parvulis et mulieribus et omnibus⁴ caris suis,⁵ pro nomine filii tui et pro te, huc de longinquis partibus⁶ venerunt, et pro filio tuo pugnant: eorum miserere.⁷ Et, O Domina, quid dicetur de filio tuo et de te⁸ in terris ipsorum, si in manibus⁹ Turcorum eos tradideris?' Haec et alia multa his similia cum iratus et gemens¹⁰ saepius iterassem, venit ad me¹¹ quidam Surianus qui Christianus erat, et dixit mihi, 'Bono animo esto, et vide ne amplius fleveris.'

-
1. manens...D.
 2. Regina Domina...B, D & J.
 3. Om. omnibus...D & J.
 4. Om. omnibus...B.
 5. Om. suis...C, E & G.
 6. huc de longinquo venerunt...B, D & J.
 7. miserere eorum...D & J.
 8. de te et de filio tuo...B, D & J.
 9. in manus...F & H.
 10. et alia similia cum moestus et gemens...B, D & J.
 11. Om. ad me...E.

Et dixit, 'Modo eram ante fores ecclesiae¹ beatæ
 Mariæ matris Domini, et venit quidam clericus
 ante me albis vestibus indutus, et cum quaesissem
 ab eo quis esset aut² unde veniret, respondit,
 'Ego sum Marcus Evangelista, venioque³ ab
 Alexandria, et diverti huc propter ecclesiam⁴
 beatæ Mariæ.'⁵ Et cum rursus quaererem quo iret,
 dixit, 'Dominus noster⁶ est apud Antiochiam, et
 mandavit omnibus discipulis suis ut venirent eo:⁷
 quoniam Franci debent pugnare cum Turcis, et nos
 erimus eis praesidio.'⁸ Et hoc dicto abiit.
 Cumque ego his parum crederem, nec a dolore neque
 a lacrymis cessarem, dixit mihi isdem
 Iurianus, 'Intellege: in evangelio beati Petri^a

1. Om. ecclesiae...C.

2. et...B, D & J.

3. et venio...B, D & J.

4. et venio hunc ad ecclesiam ...B.

5. beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis. ..D & J.

6. Dominus noster Iesus Christus...D & J.

7. eo venirent...B, D & J.

8. eis praesidium ...D & J.
 eis in praesidio...B & E.

a. This work will be mentioned again: vid. inf.
 pp. 280 et n.a.

est scriptum, (quod nos habemus),¹ quod gens Christianorum quae capiet Iherusalem, infra Antiochiam clausa erit, nec inde exire poterit, nisi prius lanceam Domini repperit²

³Si aliquid horum dubitatis, fiat ignis, et in Dei nomine et horum testimonio, transibo per medium."

⁴Accessit et alius sacerdos,⁵ nomine Stephanus, cognomine Valanti,⁶ vir magni testimonii et bonae vitae, et dixit,^a "Ipse Dominus Iesus mihi locutus est⁷ in ipso fervore tribulationis quae fuit apud Antiochiam, et promisit mihi coram beatissima matre sua

-
1. quod nos non habemus...Om. F & H.
 2. nisi lanceam Domini prius repperit...C & G.
 3. ...repperit! Et dixit sacerdos, "SiD & J.
 4. A - ccessit ..D : J also has a division at this point. per medium. VI A - ccessit ...B.
 5. alius quidam sacerdos...B & D.
 6. Om. cognomine Valanti...B.
 7. locutus est mihi...D & J. mihi ipse Iesus locutus est...B.
-

- a. What follows is in fact a condensed version of Stephen Valentine's earlier vision of 10th June, 1098: compare pp. 101-106.

Virgine Maria,¹ quod, in quinta die quae futura erat, misericordiam populo suo faceret² et labores eius quamplurimos³ compleret, si ad eum reverterentur ex toto corde, et in illa die lancea Domini reperta est, ubi ego promissa Domini completa esse credo. Si quid inde dubitatis,⁴ episcopo Podiensi statim ut haec vidi obtuli pro testimonio horum coram multitudine omni,⁵ quod si ipse vellet, ego transirem per ignes, vel de altissima turre praecipitarer, et⁶ adhuc hoc ipsum vobis offero."⁷

-
1. coram Matre sua virgine Maria...A.
coram matre sua beatissimam virgine Maria ...C,
E, G & J.
 2. erat populo suo faceret misericordiam...D.
 3. Om. quamplurimos...B & D.
 4. dubitatis hoc ipsum quod episcopo...D.
 5. omni multitudine...B & D.
 6. Om. et...A, B, D & J.
 7. offero vobis...B.

¹Accessit autem et episcopus Atensis, ^a dicens ^{2b}
 "In somnis an non, ³ viderim ista, ⁴ certum nescio;
 Deus scit. Vir quidam venit indutus albis et
 stetit ante me, et tenebat Dominicam lanceam, ⁵
 dico ⁶ istam, in manibus suis, et dixit mihi, 'Credis
 hanc lanceam esse Domini?' Et respondi, 'Credo
 Domine.' Dubitaveram ego ⁷ aliquando de ea. Cumque ⁸

-
1. offero vobis. VII A - ccessit ...B.
 A - ccessit ...D : Jalso has a division at this point.
 2. et dixit...B, D & J.
 3. In somnis ego, an vigilans...D & J.
 4. ista viderim...D & J.
 5. Dominicam lanceam, lanceam...A, C, F, G & H.
 Dominicam lanceam...E.
 6. Om. dico...B, D & J.
 7. et ego...D & J.
 Sed dubitabam ego...B.
-

a. vid. sup. pp. 149, n.c.

b. This is almost an exact repetition of the account of this vision already given. : Vid. sup. pp. 150-151.

id secundo¹ et tertio graviter exegisset a me,²
dixi ad eum, 'Credo Domine hanc esse lanceam Domini
mei³ Iesu Christi.' Et post haec dimisit me.

⁴Et ego⁵ qui haec scripsi,⁶ coram fratribus
et episcopis haec⁷ ibi dixi: "Interfui ego dum
effoderetur⁸ et antequam tota super terram
apparuisset, mucronem osculatus sum. Et sunt in
exercitu plures qui mecum ista viderunt." Et
addidi,⁹ Est¹⁰ alius quidam sacerdos, Bertrannus

-
1. secundo id...A.
secundo interrogationem exegisset a me...B.
 2. Om. a me...D & J.
 3. Om. mei...B. Domini nostri...D & J.
 4. E - t ...D.
 5. ego Raimundus...D & J.
 6. scripsi haec...B.
 7. Om. haec... D & B.
 8. effoderetur lanceam Domini...D & J.
 9. Et addidi. VIII E - st...B.
 10. Et est...J.
Est et...D.

nomine, Podiensis,¹ qui familiaris episcopo
 Podiensi erat in vita ipsius.^{2a} Hic autem
 sacerdos infirmatus est usque ad mortem
 apud Antiochiam,³ cumque iam de vita sua

-
1. Bertrannus nomine, Podiensis...B & J.
 nomine Bertrannus Podiensis...D.
 2. nomine Podiensis, episcopo Podiensi in vita ipsius
 familiaris...D & J.
 3. Om. apud Antiochiam...B, D & J.
-

- a. This may have been the Bernard who was made
 Bishop of Artasium in 1099, and later became
 Patriarch of Antioch, 1100-1135 (Gams, op. cit.
 pp. 436 & 433).
 William of Tyre records that in 1100, one..
Bernardum nomine, natione Valentinum, qui, in
eodem expeditione Podiensem episcopum secutus,
fuerat capellanus eius: (R.H.C.(Occ.) vol. I,
 Lib. VI, xxiii, pp. 274-275). Porces (op. cit.
 Speculum 1946, p. 22) certainly accepts this
 identification, but it is curious that Raymond
 should refer to him as Bernard of Le Puy. There
 appear, however, to have been no other Bernards
 in Adhémar's entourage.

desperaret,¹ venit ante eum episcopus² Podiensis
 cum Heraclio vexillifero suo, qui in bello
 maximo facto³ apud Antiochiam, in facie percussus
 sagitta, cum intrepidus agmina Turcorum
 prosterneret, et inde⁴ vitam finierat^a. Et dixit
 ei episcopus,⁵ 'Bertrande, quid agis?' Et dixit⁶
 Heraclius, 'Domine, infirmus est'. Et respondit
 episcopus, 'Propter incredulitatem infirmatur.'
 Et sacerdos ad haec, 'Domine, nonne ego de
 lancea Domini credo, sicut et de passione

1. cumque de vita sua iam desperaret...C & G.

2. apparuit ei episcopus...D & J.

3. Om. facto...B & D.

4. Om. inde...B.

5. Et dixit episcopus sacerdoti...D & J.

6. Et dixit ei...C.

a. Raymond has already given an account of the
 wounding of Heraclius of Polignac: vid. sup.
 pp. 130 et n.a.

Domini?' Et dixit ei episcopus, 'Et adhuc alia multa¹ te² oportet credere.'³ Et licet ad hoc negotium non pertineat, tamen quia egregium est, gratia bonorum hominum aliquid adiungam. Cum resedisset sacerdos ad praesentiam episcopi et Heraclii domini sui, (infirmus erat nec stare poterat) vidit in faciem Domini sui vulnus unde ipse vitae mortalis labores finierat. Et dixit ei presbyter, 'Domine nos iam credebamus quod vulnus hoc vestrum sanatum esset. Quid est hoc?'⁴ 'Et respondit Heraclius, 'Bene hoc quaesisti?'⁵ Cum ego veni⁶ ante Dominum meum,

1. multa alia...D, J, C & G.

2. Om. te...D & J.

3. credere oportet...D & J.

4. faciem Domini sui vulnus non esse sanatum. Et ait sacerdos, 'Quid est hoc?...D & J. faciem Domini sui vulnus unde vel quo ipse vitae mortalis labores finierat. Et dixit ei, 'Domine iam credebamus quod vulneratus hoc vestrum sanatum esset. Quid est hoc?'

5. Om. Bene hoc quaesisti?...B, D & J.

Nota 4 & 5 represent a condensation by the editor of ~~the~~ This is a passage of some importance. Vid. sup.
Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLIII.

6. venissem...B, D & J.

deprecatus sum eum, quatenus nunquam¹ haec
 plaga clauderetur, quoniam propter eam vitam
 finieram. Et hoc mihi concessit Dominus.'
 Haec et multa alia episcopus et Heraclius
 sacerdoti dixerunt, quae modo non sunt
 necessaria.² His atque pluribus aliis auditis,³
 credidit Arnulfus, et confessus est. Promisitque⁴
 episcopo Albariensi quod coram omni populo,⁵
 pro incredulitate sua veniam faceret.⁶ ⁷D1e
 autem constituta, cum venisset vocatus ad
 consilium Arnulfus, coepit dicere quod bene
 crederet, sed cum domino suo volebat loqui

-
1. ut nunquam...B, D & J.
 2. Haec et multa alia etc. ... Om. B, D & J.
 3. Om. aliis B, D & J.
 4. et promisit ...B, D & J.
 5. omni multitudine populi...D & J.
 6. veniam peteret...D & J.
 7. veniam peteret. VIII D - 1e ...B.

antequam veniam faceret¹.

²Cum vero³ haec audisset⁴ Petrus Bartholomeus, iratus nimium,⁵ sicut homo simplex et qui veritatem optime noverat, dixit,⁶ "Volo ac deprecor ut fiat ignis maximus, et cum lancea Domini transibo per medium, et si est lancea Domini,⁷ incolumis⁸ transeam; sin autem comburam⁹ in igne. Video enim quia nec signis nec testibus creditur." Placuerunt haec omnia nobis, et indicto ei ieiunio, diximus quod eo die fieret ignis

-
1. antequam veniam inde peteret...D & J.
 2. peteret. C - um ...D: J also has a division at this point.
faceret. Ubi Petrus transivit per ignem illaesus: Capitulo XXX^o C - um ...E.
 3. Om. vero...C & G.
 4. audisset haec...A.
 5. iratus multum...B.
 6. dixit sicut homo simplex et qui veritatem bene noverat...D & J.
 7. si lancea Domini est...B, D & J.
 8. Om. incolumis...D & B.
 9. sin autem falsum est, comburam...B, D & J.

quo Dominus, pro nostra salute plagatus cum
 ea in cruce fuit.¹ Et post quartum diem² erat
 Parasceve^a. Itaque illucescente die constituta,
 ignis praeparatus est³ post meridiem. Convenerunt
 eo principes et populus, usque ad sexaginta
 millia virorum;⁴ fuerunt⁵ ibi sacerdotes nudis
 pedibus⁶ et induti sacerdotalibus vestimentis.
 factus est ignis⁷ de oleis siccis, et habuit
 in longitudine tredecim pedes,⁸ et erant

-
1. quo Dominus noster pro salute nostra plagatus
 et in cruce fuit...D & J.
 2. Et post diem...D & J. Et post quatuor dies...
 C & G.
 3. praeparatus est...D & J.
 4. XXX virorum...B quadraginta millia virorum...
 D, J & H.
 5. fueruntque...D & J.
 6. Om. nudis pedibus...A.
 7. Om. ignis...C, E, F, G & H.
 8. quatuordecim pedes...D & J.
-

a. Good-Friday, the 8th April, 1099.

duo aggeres;¹ et erat inter utrosque spatium²
 quasi unius pedis; et³ in altitudine aggerum
 erant quatuor pedes. Cum vero ignis vehementer⁴
 accensus esset, dixi ego Raymundus⁵ coram
 omni multitudine, "Si Deus omnipotens⁶ huic
 homini loquutus est facie ad faciem, et beatus
 Andreas lanceam Domini ostendit ei, cum iste⁷
 vigilaret, transeat iste illaesus per ignem."⁸
 Sin autem est mendacium comburatur⁹ iste cum
 lancea quam portabit in manu sua."¹⁰ Et omnes
 flexis genibus responderunt, "AMEN". Exaestuabat
 ita incendium, ut usque ad triginta cubitos

-
1. Om. et erant duo aggeres...D.
 2. utrosque duos aggeres spatium...D & J.
 3. atque...B, D & J.
 4. vehementer ignis...D & J.
 5. Om. Raymundus...B.
 6. Om. omnipotens...B & D.
 7. cum ipse...D & J.
 8. dum iste vigilaret transeat iste per ignem...B.
 9. Sin autem aliter est, et mendacium est, comburatur...
 D & J.
 Sin autem mendacium comburatur...B.
 10. in manibus suis...D & J.

aera occuparet; accedere vero prope nullus poterat. Tunc Petrus Bartholomeus indutus solummodo tunica, et flexis genibus ante episcopum Albariensem, Deum testem invocavit, quod facie ad faciem ipsum in cruce viderit, et haec quae supra scripta sunt ab eo audivit,^{1a} et a beatis Petro² et Andrea; neque³ quicquam eorum, quae ipse sub nomine sancti Petri vel sancti Andreae,⁴ vel ipsius Domini dixit, se composuisse; et si quicquam mentitus erat, praesens incendium nunquam transisset.⁵ Cetera quae ipse commisisset et⁶ in Deum et in proximum, dimitteret ei Deus

-
1. audierit...D & J.
 2. beatis apostolis Petro...D & J.
 3. et neque...D & J. et quicquam...B.
 4. sancti Andreae vel sancti Petri...B, D & J.
 5. et si quicquam etc... Om. D.
 6. Om. et...D & J.

-
- a. et haec quae supra scripta sunt ab eo audivit: this strengthens the supposition that the description of Peter's last vision is in fact a contemporary trial document. vid. sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, pp. CXLII - CXLIII.

et pro his oraret episcopus atque omnes alii sacerdotes, et populus qui ad hoc spectaculum convenerat. Post haec cum episcopus posuisset ei lanceam in manu, flexis genibus et facto sibi signo crucis,¹ cum lancea viriliter et imperterritus incendium ingressus est, atque per spatium² quoddam in medio ignis demoratus est, et sic per Dei gratiam³ transivit. Sunt autem⁴ nonnulli adhuc, qui hoc signum⁵ ibi viderunt: quod antequam egrederetur rogam, quaedam avis⁶ desuper volans, lustrato igne, se intus inmisit.⁷ Et hoc vidit Ebrardus

-
1. signo crucis sibi cum lancea...A, F, G & H.
signo crucis cum lancea...D & J.
 2. atque spacio...D & J.
 3. per gratiam Dei...B.
 4. Sunt autem,,,A, F & H.
 5. signum hoc...J. qui signum...B & D.
 6. antequam ingrederetur in ignem quaedam avis...
B, D & J.
antequam egrederetur in ignis, rogam quaedam avis
...F.
 7. misit...D & J.

sacerdos, ille^x cuius mentionem superius
 fecimus,^{1a} qui Iherosolymis pro Deo postea²
 remansit,³ et willelmus bono^b
 filius, optimus miles et boni testimonii,
 patria Arelatensis, hoc ipsum se vidisse
 testatur.⁴ Alius quidam miles honestus,⁵
 genere Biterensis,⁶ nomine Willelmus Malus
 puer^c, qui antequam Petrus ingrederetur in

-
1. cuius superius mentionem fecimus...D & J.
 2. Om. postea...B.
 3. qui iherosolymis postea pro Deo remansit...D & J.
 4. A - lius ...D.
 5. Alius quidem miles est optimus...B, D & J.
 6. genere Niterensis...D & J.
-

- a. vid. sup. pp. 232 et n.b.
- b. The son of William the Good of Arles: V et V.
 vol. II, Bk. XV, pp. 290-291.
- c. Presumably a knight from the diocese of Beziers.
 (Biterensis or Niterensis).

flammam, quendam hominem indutum veste sacerdotali, nisi quod casulam habebat replicatam super caput,¹ ingredi in ignem vidit, et cum videret quod non egrederetur, existimans Petrum Bartholomeum esse, lacrymari coepit, credens eum esse extinctum² in igne. Erat ibi multitudo hominum,³ nec poterant omnes videre omnia.⁴ Et alia multa nobis revelata⁵ sunt et facta, quae nos, metuentes legentibus fastidium, scribere nolimus,⁶ cum ad omnem causam tres idonei testes sufficiunt.⁷

1. super caput replicatum...D & J.

2. eum extinctum esse...D & J.

3. Erat autem multitudo hominum ibi...B, D & J.

4. omnia videre...D & J.

5. relata...J.

6. et facta quae nos metentes etc...Om. B.

7. Et alia multa nobis revelata etc....This passage has been displaced in D, and inserted at another point: vid. inf. pp. 251 et n.7.

hoc unum¹ non praetereamus. Postquam² Petrus
 Bartholomeus per ignem transivit, licet³ multum
 exaestuaret incendium, tamen populus ita avide titiones
 collegit, et carbones cum cinere,⁴ ut in brevi
 spatio nihil inde appareret. In fide etenim
 illorum, multas per haec virtutes operatus est⁵ postea
 Dominus.⁶ ⁷Ut vero Petrus⁸ de igne egressus est,
 ita ut nec tunica eius combusta^{fuert} nec etiam

-
1. Unum vero...D & J.
 2. Postquam enim...D & J.
 3. licet adhuc...D & J.
 4. et carbones cum cinere...Om. D.
 5. est postea...J.
 6. Hoc unum non praetereamus etc. ...Om. B.
 7. operatus est Dominus. Et alia multa nobis
 revelata sunt et facta ... idonei testes sufficiunt.
 Ut vero Petrus D: this is displaced: vid. sup.
 pp. 250 et n.7.
 8. Petrus Bartholomeus...J.

ille pannus subtilissimus¹ de quo lancea Domini involuta erat signum alicuius laesionis habuisset, accepit eum populus² cum signasset eos tenens omnia lancea³ et⁴ clamasset alta voce DEUS ADIUVA, accepit eum⁵ et traxit per⁶ terram et conculcavit eum omnis pene⁷ multitudo populi, dum quisque volebat eum tangere, vel accipere de vestimento eius aliquid, et dum credebat eum esse quisquam apud alium.⁸ Itaque tria vel quatuor vulnera⁹ fecerunt in eius cruribus absidentes de carne eius,¹⁰ et spinam dorsi eius¹¹ confringentes, crepuerunt eum. Expirasset ibi animam

-
1. ille subtilissimus pannus...D & J.
 2. omnis populus...E, F & H.
 3. eos cum lancea...B, D & J.
 4. lancea domini et ...D & J.
 5. accepit inquam...B̄, D & J.
 6. traxit eum per...D & J.
 7. omnis illa multitudo...B, D & J.
 8. dum quisque apud se illud distaeret. Itaque...D.
 9. tria vulnera vel quatuor...B, D & J.
 10. ei in cruribus...B, D & J.
 11. Om. eius...C & J.

Petrus,¹ sicut nos credimus, nisi Raymundus Pelet,^{2a}

1. Expirasset autem ibi Petrus...D & J.

2. Pelez...D & J.

- a. Raymond Peleth was one of the most distinguished knights of the crusader force. In August 1098 he led a razzia which was successful, though checked at Marra (vid. sup. pp. 165 n.b.) and he led the capture of Tortosa (vid. sup. pp. 203 n.a.) Later he distinguished himself at the siege of the city of Jerusalem (vid. inf. pp. 317-320).

He was probably a direct tenant of the Count of Toulouse: V. et V. vol. II, Bk. AV, p. 291. But also there is the declaration of M. l'Avocat General Ranchin in the Court of Aides of Montpellier, concerning the oldest families of Languedoc, sent by him in a letter of February 1613 to M. de St. Marthe, saying that the "Ancien maison de Peleth" was associated with no particular land, but had holdings in the county of Alez, the dioceses of Nîmes, Montpeyrour, Lodève and Leiverune, and the Barony of Combesces in Uzes. (Bib. Carpentras, Collection Peirese, N° 1811, f. 14.)

Also a charter, N° H178 of the Cartulary of Chaisse-Dieu, dated [1098]? has a Raimundus Pelet associated with the Bishops of Agde and Maguelonne in the gift of the church of St. Vincent of Jonquières to the priory of Poussan.

miles nobilissimus¹ et fortis, facto agmine sociorum irrupisset in agmen turbae turbatae² et usque ad mortem pugnando liberasset eum. Sed nos in sollicitudine et in³ angustis modo positi, amplius de his scribere non possumus.

⁴Cum vero detulisset Raymundus Pelet Petrum ad domum nostram, colligatis eius vulneribus,⁵ coepimus quaerere ab eo quare moram fecisset in igne. Ad haec ipse⁶ respondit, "Dominus mihi occurrit^{7a} in medio igne, et apprehendens me per manum dixit mihi, 'Quia dubitasti de inventione lanceae, cum beatus Andreas ostendisset tibi eam,⁸ non sic transibis illaesus sed infernum non videbis.' Et hoc dicto, me dimisit.⁹ Videte itaque, si

1. nobilissimus miles...B, D & J.

2. turba ingressus et...D.

3. Om. in...D & J.

4. Cossumus. A C - um ...B.

5. vulneribus eius...B, D & J.

6. ille...B.

7. Occurrit mihi Dominus...B, D & J.

8. Andreas tibi ostendisset eam...B.
Andreas eam tibi ostendisset...D & J.

9. dimisit me...B, D & J.

a. This may be regarded as Peter Bartholomew's twelfth vision.

vultis, adustionem meum." Et erat aliquantula¹
 adustio in cruribus, verum non multa; sed plagae
 erant² magnae. Post haec convocavimus omnes qui
 de lancea Domini³ dubitaverant, ut venirent et
 viderent faciem eius et caput atque capillos⁴
 et reliqua membra, et intelligerent, quod verum
 est, quicquid ipse dixerat de lancea⁵ et de aliis;
 cum pro testimonio eorum non extimuisset intrare
 incendium.⁶ Venerunt itaque⁷ multi, et videntes
 faciem eius atque totum corpus, glorificabant
 Dominum⁸ dicentes, "Bene potest nos Dominus
 custodire inter gladios inimicorum nostrorum,
 qui hominem istum liberavit de tanto incendio
 flammarum. Certe non credebamus quod sagitta
 aliqua sic transire posset illaesa per ignem,

1. aliqua...B, D & J.

2. non erant...G.

3. Om. Domini...D & B.

4. Om. atque capillos...B, D & J.

5. de lancea dixerat...F & H.

6. introire tale incendium...J.
 intrare taliter incendium...F & H.

7. Viderunt itaque...D & J.

8. Deum...D & J.

quomodo iste transiuit." Post haec convocavit¹ ad se capellanum comitis, Raymundum nomine,² et dixit ei Petrus, "Quare voluisti ut ego ob testimonium Dominicae lanceae, et ceterorum quae ex parte Dei dixeram, per incendium transirem?^a x Scio satis quia hoc modo et hoc modo cogitasti."³ Et dixit ei quae ipse cogitauerat. Cumque ille⁴ se taliter cogitasse negaret, respondit Petrus Bartholomeus. "Mihi quidem negare non potes, quia certum hoc habeo. etenim alia⁵ nocte fuit hic beatissima Virgo Maria et episcopus Podiensis^b, per quos ego ea⁶ quae tu

-
1. Petrus convocavit...D & J.
 2. nomine Raimundum... D & J.
 3. quia hoc et hoc cogitasti...D & J.
quia hoc modo cogitasti...B.
 4. Cum vero ille...A, F & H.
 5. illa...D & J.
 6. Om. ea...D & J.

a. Speaking of Peter's resolve to undergo the trial by fire Raymond wrote: Placuerunt haec omnia nobis, et indicto et ieiunio, diximus quod eo die fieret ignis quo Dominus etc. vid. sup. pp. 244-245.

b. This may be regarded as Peter's thirteenth vision.

negas didici. Miror satis cum de verbis Domini et apostolorum ipsius¹ non dubitaveris, quare experimentum cum periculo meo, de his solis² habere volueris." Tunc deprenhensam cogitationem suam, et se culpabilem ante Deum Raymundus^a videns, amarissime in lacrymas prorupit. Et Petrus ad haec, "Noli desperare, quia piissima Virgo Maria et Sanctus Andreas tibi veniam apud Deum obtinebunt."³ Tu vero enixius eos deprecare."

⁴Interim tantae ac tales lites inter principes nostri exercitus obortae sunt, ut pene totus exercitus divideretur. Sed Deus

1. eius...D & J.

2. solis his...B, D & J.

3. Andreas tibi apud Dominum veniam obtinebunt...
A, C, F & H.
apud Deum impetrabant...G.

4. I - nterim...D : J also has a division at this point. eos deprecare. XI I - nterim...B.

a. Raymond appears to have referred to himself in the impersonal before: vid. sup. pp. 158 et n.a. We know of no other Raymond who was chaplain to the Count of Toulouse.

qui ductor ac¹ Dominus noster erat,² ne talia fierent beneficia suis prohibebat.³ Erat civitas Tripolis⁴ non⁵ multum longe a castris nostris.⁶ Nihil igitur dominus civitatis, cum discordiam principum nostrorum didicisset, respondit haec nostris qui⁷ de reddendo tributo eum appellebat^a, "Et qui sunt Franci? Et quales milites?⁸ Et quanta est⁹ eorum

1. et...B, D & J.

2. qui ductor erat et Dominus noster...D & J.
qui conductor ac Dominus erat noster...F & H.

3. prohibebat. XII E - rat ...B.

4. nomine Tripolis...B, D & J.

5. Tripolis, cuius superius mentio facta est...D & J

6. non multum longe etc. ...Om. B.

7. respondit nostris...D & J. Om. nostris...B.

8. milites sunt? ...B, D & J.

9. Om. est...B, D & J.

a. It will be recalled that the Emir of Tripoli had already offered the crusaders a large tribute: vid. sup. pp. 216-217.

potentia? Ecce tertius mensis modo agitur ex quo exercitus Francorum obsedit castrum Archados, et neque eorum¹ assultum² habui, neque armatum aliquem³ de ipsis vidi,⁴ et tamen sunt prope me per quatuor leugas. Sed veniant huc,⁵ et videamus eos, et comprobemus militiam eorum. Quare ego eorum hominum tributarius fierem, quorum facies non vidi et fortitudinem⁶ ignore?" Ut vero haec relata sunt ad exercitum nostrum, dixerunt quique⁷ ad invicem," Ecce quod aquisivimus pro contentionibus et discordiis nostris.⁸ Blasphematur Deus, et nos contemnimur."

1. Om. eorum...B

2. assultum eorum...D & J.

3. aliquem armatum...B, D & J.

4. aliquem eorum vidi armatum de ipsis et tamen...D.

5. huc veniant...F & H.

6. fortitudinem eorum...E & H. Om. fortitudinem...C.

7. quique dixerunt...F & H.

8. contentionibus nostris et discordiis...G.

Ob hoc¹ itaque, convenientes in unum principes nostri, statuerunt ut episcopus Albariensis² cum parte exercitus castra servaret, et principes cum ordinibus peditum et militum, sicut pugnandi mos est^a, usque ad muros civitatis assaultarent. Constituta autem die^b cum nostri proficiscerentur taliter,³ egressi⁴ Tripolitani obviam illis, in multitudine tumultus sui⁵ confisi, pugnare cum nostris parabant.⁶ Est quidam murus

-
1. Om. Ob hoc...D & J.
 2. Albariensis episcopus...B, D & J.
 3. taliter proficiscerentur...B, D & J.
 4. Om. egressi...B.
 5. multitudine et tumultu suo...B, D & J.
 6. proficiscerentur...G.

-
- a. Concerning the pugnandi mos, vid. sup. pp. 123 et n.a.
 - b. The attack was launched on about the 18th April 1099.

firmissimus aquaeducti in civitatem et altus,
 inter quem et mare, non multum ampla via est; a
 tribus enim partibus Tripolim mare cingit.
 Hunc igitur murum aquaeducti quem diximus,
 Sarraceni munierunt, ut quasi de castello et¹
 ad castellum exire et regredi possent, si quid
 adversi contigissent. Videntes itaque nostri²
 hanc multitudinem loco et armis, confidentem,
 invocando Deum et erectis hastis conglobatim
 pedites et milites more processioneis, usque ad
 eos venerunt, ut si nostros vidisses, amicos
 non hostes eos crederes vel dixisses.³
 Poedatur enim terra sanguine Maurorum, et
 completur aquaeductus cadaveribus eorum.⁴
 Tantum namque timorem hostibus immisit Dominus,
 ut vix fugere, post primos ictus aliqui eorum⁵
 possent. Erat quidem ad videndum satis delectabile,
 cum aquaeducti⁶ rivulus raptim truncata

1. Om. et ...D & J.

2. Om. nostri...C.

3. non hostes esse eos dixisses...D & J.

4. enim aquaeductus sanguine Maurorum et completur
cadaveribus eorum...B.

5. eorum aliqui...D & J.

6. Om. aquaeducti...A.

cadavera nobilium et vulgi in civitatem inferret. Ceciderunt ibi de nostris unus vel duo: de nostribus vero, usque ad¹ septingentos² cecidisse audivimus. Reversi itaque cum grandi victoria et multis spoliis,³ dixerunt nostri principes ad populum, "Hodie vidit nos rex Tripolis,⁴ et nos vidimus vias civitatis, et consideravimus accessus, et nunc, si laudatis, iustum esse decernimus, ut cras rex sapiat,⁵ quales nos⁶ milites sumus." Reversi itaque altera die, extra civitatem nullum invenerunt. Post haec autem rex Tripolis mandavit⁷ ad nostros principes si desisterent ab oppugnatione Archados, donaret eis quindecim millia⁸ aureos et equos et mulas et vestes et victualia atque

1. Om. ad...F & H.

2. ad CC...E.

3. spoliis multis...D & J.

4. rex Tripolitanus...F & H.

5. ut cras sapiat rex...D, F, H & J.

6. Om. nos...D & J.

7. mandavit rex Tripolis...B, D & J.

8. XL millia...E.

mercatum de omnibus rebus faceret¹ omni
populo; praeterea redderet omnes captivos
quos habebat de nostra gente.²

Venerunt nobis³ eo tempore, legati
ab Alexio imperatore,^{5a} cum
maximis quaerimoniis de Boamundo, eo quod
retineret civitatem⁶ Antiochia^e contra
iuramenta quae imperatori fecerat. Habebat
enim Boamundus Antiochiam eo tempore.⁷ Namque
cum audisset Boamundus⁸ de comite, quod profectus

1. faceret de omnibus rebus...D & J.

2. de gente nostra...F & H.

3. V - enerunt...D. nostra gente. XIII V - enerunt
...B.

4. Om. nobis...D & J.

5. ab Alexio imperatore legati...D & J.

6. Om. civitatem...A.

7. habebat enim Boamundus eo tempore civitatem...C.
Habebat enim eo tempore Boamundus civitatem...G.

8. Om. Boamundus...B, D & J.

a. This embassy in fact arrived in early April before
the trial of the lance. For Raymond's bad
chronology at this point, vid. sup. Critical
Introduction, Section II, pp. XCI-XCII.

esset a Farra in interiora Syriae, expulit
 homines comitis violenter de turribus Antiochiae
 quas servabant. Propterea¹ mandavit Alexius ad
 nostros principes,² quod donaret aurum et
 argentum multum eis, et veniret cum eis in³
 Iherusalem, et expectarent⁴ eum⁵ usque ad
 festivitatem sancti Iohannis^a; et tunc
 instabat Dominicum Pascha. Dicebant ob ea
 multi in quibus comes erat, "Expectemus
 imperatorem, et habebimus donativa eius, et
 ipsum qui faciet nobis venire mercatum per
 mare et per⁶ terram, et sub ipso domino
 concordabimus. Omnes civitates se dabunt ei,
 et ille vestiet quas voluerit, et quas voluerit

-
1. Et propterea...D & J.
 2. principes nostros...B, D & J.
 3. Om. in ...C, E, G & H.
 4. si expectarent...D & J. et ut expectarent...
C, E, G & H.
 5. Om. eum...D & J.
 6. Om. per...B, D & J.
-

- a. The Feast of St. John is the 27th December,
 which seems unlikely. Presumably Raymond
 means either St. John before the Latin Gate
 (May 6th) or St. John & St. Paul, (26th July).
Missale Romanum.

destruet. Propterea¹ populus iste noster, longis
 ac² diuturnis defatigationibus conquassatus, si
 venerit in Iherusalem, volet fortasse reverti, ut
 de foris³ viderit eam. quae vero et quanta pericula
 maneant illos qui perficere iter desiderant
 perpendatis. Ad haec autem obsidemus castellum
 Archados, quod usque⁴ ad mensem vel se dabant⁵
 vel vi capientur: et cum longe notum sit de
 obsidione ista, si dimittamus eam ut inexplicabilem,,
 multum contemnetur noster exercitus, qui nihil
 incepit hacentus,⁶ quod inexpletum dimiserit."
 At vero alii dicebant e contra,⁷ "Semper nocuit
 nobis imperator, semper mentitus est, semper
 adversum nos cogitavit. Et nunc quia vidit se
 nihil posse, et nos valere per Dei gratiam,⁸
 ex studio agit quatinus a proposito itineris.

1. Praeterea...F & H.

2. et...B, D & J.

3. Om. de foris...B.

4. et usque...B, D & J.

5. se reddent...D & J.

6. acentus nihil incepit...D & J.

7. e contra dicebant...D & J.

8. per gratiam Dei...B, D & J.

nos retrahat, ne hi qui audierint, exemplo nostri venire disponantⁿ. Sed iam quos ipse multotiens laesit verbis et opere, fidem ei frustra adhibere¹ caveant. Fidentes igitur, Christo Duce, qui nos de tam multis, praeter spem, liberavit periculis,² et contra omnia³ molimina imperatoris⁴ et fraudes eius nos contutatus est, viam pro qua venimus ingrediamur, et facile, ex Dei promissione, quod volumus consequemur. Et cum haec audierit imperator, captam esse⁵ Iherusalem, et iter liberum quod verbis simulabat, itinere⁶ opere complebit.⁷ Similiter de eius donativis erit⁸. Laudavit populus maxime hanc sententiam.⁹ Sed quia comitis familiares

1. fidei eius frustra animos adhibere...D & J.

2. multis periculis praeter spem liberavit...C & G.

3. Om. omnia...B.

4. Om. imperatoris...B.

5. captam scilicet esse...D & J.

6. Iherusalem, tunc liberum iter quod verbis simulabat, opere complebit...D & J.

7. de itinere...A, B, C, D, F, G & H.

8. erit laus...B, D & J.

9. Populus hanc maxime laudabat sententiam...B, D & J.

erant multi, quippe cum populo¹ se comes, sine aliis principibus, morti² exposuisset, et pluribus magna et privata beneficia contulisset, propterea consilia principum et populi vota impediabant.³

⁴Praedicavimus eo tempore ieiunium, et orationes et eleemosynas in populo, ut Deus omnipotens, qui eum duxerat de tam multis regionibus illuc,⁵ inspirare dignaretur, quid de his gratum erat in⁶ conspectu suo. Itaque fidelium vota quae rebant facile apud Deum promeruerunt. ⁷Apparuit enim episcopus Podiensis Stephano Valentino, de quo superius mentionem facimus,^a

1. cum pro populo...B, D & J.

2. Om. morti...A, C, E, F, G & H.

3. impediabantur...D & J.

4. P - raedicavimus...D: J also has a division at this point.

5. eum de tam multis regionibus conduxerat illus... D & J.
eum conduxerat de terra sua et multos regionibus illuc...B.

6. quid erat gratum de hoc itinere in...D & J.

7. conspectu suo. XIII A - pparuit...B:
A-pparuit...D.

a. vidi sup. pp. 236 et n.a.

qui cum cruce Dominum¹ vidit, et percussit eum cum virga, regredientem ad domum suam per noctem et² dixit ei, "Stephane," et ille respondit, "Domine", et respiciens agnovit eum. Et ait episcopus, "Quare neglexisti semel et secundo quod³ dixi tibi⁴ de cruce Domini et matris nostrae Virginis⁵ Mariae?: de cruce dico, quam ego praeferri faciebam, ut apportaretur in exercitum. Et quod signum est⁶ melius cruce? An non est satis illa crux pro vobis lapidata? An non illa⁷ bene vos conduxit usque ad lanceam Domini? Et nunc ait Domina et beatissima Virgo⁸ Maria quod nisi illam crucem habeatis, non potestis habere consilium."

1. Dominum cum cruce...B, D & J.

2. noctem episcopus et...D & J.

3. quo,...F & H.

4. tibi dixi...D & J.

5. semper Virginis...D & J.

6. Quod est...D & J.

7. illa crux...D & J. & B.

8. beatissima semper Virgo...D & J.
Beata Virgo Maria...A, E, F, G & H.

Et continuo ait sacerdos, "O karissime¹ Domine,
 et ubi est beata Maria?"² Et statim episcopus
 eam monstravit ei.³ Erat autem beata Virgo⁴ Maria
 longe ab eo quasi novem vel decem cubitis,
 specie et ornatu valde admirabilis, et
 assistebant ei beata Agatha,^a et quaedam
 altera virgo cum duobus cereis.^b Et tunc

-
1. O Reverendissime...B, D & J.
 2. beatissima Virgo Maria...D & J.
 3. eam ei monstravit...O.
 4. beatissima Virgo...B, D & J.
-

- a. Saint Agatha was a late Roman Virgin and Martyr of Sicilian origin. Her cult, attested from the 6th century, appears to have been highly popular in the middle ages, numerous and variant Acts having survived. Her feast day is February 5th. Butler, Lives of the Saints, vol. I, Feb. 5th.
- b. She is unknown; the two tapers do not appear to be a special attribute. This tableau, like many others in the visions narrated in the Historia Francorum reads like a description of a remembered fresco.

sacerdos ait ad episcopum,¹ qui assistebat ei,
 "Domine, quanta dicuntur de vobis in exercitu,
 quod in inferno vobis barba et capilli combusti
 sunt, et alia multa quibus non creditur? Et
 nunc oro, ut unam de candelis illis² in
 testimonium horum quae dicitis, mihi donetis
 ut deferam ad comitem." Tunc ait episcopus illi,³
 "Videns, vide faciem meum. Numquid perusta est?"
 Post haec accessit episcopus ad beatam Virginem
 Mariam,⁴ et cognita eius voluntate regressus
 est ad sacerdotem, et dixit ei, "Quod tu
 quaeris impetrare non potes,⁵ sed hic
 annulus quem habes in digito tuo, nec tibi
 prodest, nec portare debes eum.⁶ ⁷Sed vade⁸

-
1. ait sacerdos ad episcopum...C, E & G.
 2. istis...D & J.
 3. ait ille episcopus...D & J.
 4. ad beatissimam Virginem...D & J. & B.
ad beatam Mariam Virginem...A, F & H.
 5. non vales...A.
 6. nec portare eum debes...B, D & J.
 7. eum debes. Erat in testimonium. Vade...B.
 8. Vade...B, D & J.

et dabis eum comiti, dicens, 'Virgo mater sanctissima mittit tibi hunc annulum, et quotienscumque¹ defeceris in aliquibus,² recordare illius Dominae quae tibi mittit hunc,³ et appellabis eam, et Dominus auxiliabitur tibi.'" Rursus cum quaereret sacerdos ab eo,⁴ quid vellet ut faceret frater suus,^a respondit ei⁵ episcopus, "Oret bene electum episcopum, ut pro animabus parentum nostrorum celebret⁶ tres missas ad Dominum.⁷ Praecepit Mater nostra, ut deinceps lancea non monstretur nisi a sacerdote induto⁸ sacris vestibus

-
1. quoties...B, C, D & G. & J.
 2. in aliquibus rebus...D & J.
 3. hunc annulum...D & J.
 4. ab eo sacerdos...H.
 5. Om. ei...D & J.
 6. Om. celebret...A.
 7. ad Dominum." Et ait iterum, "Praecepit...D & J.
 8. et induto A, B, C, F, G & H.

a. i.e. William Hugo of Monteil: vid inf. pp. 272 et n.a.

et crux ei praeferatur sic." Et tenuit episcopus crucem in hastile positam, et quidam indutus sacerdotali veste¹ sequebatur eum, habens lanceam inter manus. Et episcopus incepit responsorium hoc, Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola intermisti.² Inceperunt³ sine numero⁴ centena millia virorum, atque sic sanctum⁵ collegium abiit. Mane autem facto venit sacerdos, et primum quaesivit⁶ si haberemus lanceam, et cum vidisset eam, cum multis lacrymis coepit enarrare visa ab eo et audita ea quae⁷ superius diximus. Misit itaque comes Willelmum Hugonem de Montilio,⁸ fratrem episcopi Podiensis⁸

1. sacerdotalibus vestibus...D & J.

2. Gaude Virgo...E.

3. Et illico inceperunt...D & J.

4. sine dubio...D.

5. illud sanctum...B, D & J.

6. venit primum sacerdos et quaesivit...B.

7. enarrare ea quae...D & J. enarrare ab eo etc...A.

8. Podiensis episcopi...B, D & J.

a. William-Hugo of Monteil, Prior of Donzère in Dauphine, the brother of Adhémar of Le Puy: J.G. d'Adhémar-Laubaume, op. cit. Chap. II, pp. 7-8.

Laodiciam, ubi crux dimissa fuerat, cum capella ipsius episcopi.

¹Interea² Petrus Bartholomeus, morbo defatigatus ex conquassatione et vulneribus convocavit comitem et principes eius, et dixit eis, "Finis vitae meae appropinquavit, et scio satis quia de omnibus quae male feci vel³ dixi, vel etiam⁴ cogitavi, ante Deum iudicabor: in cuius conspectu hodie⁵ testificor ipsum, coram vobis, me nihil composuisse de his⁶ omnibus quae ex parte Dei et apostolorum ipsius vobis annuntiavi,⁷ et adhuc vobis dicam.⁸ Et sicut vidistis ea quae vobis nuntiavi,⁹ sic sine

1. ipsius episcopi. XV I - nterea ...B.
I - nterea...D : J also has a division at this point.

2. Interim...F, G & H.

3. feci et...B. D & J.

4. Om. etiam A & E.

5. hodie hodie...H.

6. ex his...D & J.

7. nuntiavi...D & J & B.

8. ea quae adhuc vobis dicam...B.

9. et adhuc vobis dicam etc. Om. A, C, E, F, G & H.

dubio videbitis ea quae vobis dicam, siquidem Deo fideliter serviatis. Tu vero comes¹ cum veneris in Iherusalem, fac ut exercitus postulet Deum quatinus vitam² tuam prolonget et³ continuet, et Deus prolongabit eam tantumdem quantum vixisti. Tu autem cum reversus fueris prope quinque leugas, in ecclesiam sancti Trophimi lanceam Domini pones, et ecclesiam ibi fabricare facies, et fiet ibi moneta, quam tu iurabis ne falso fiat. Sed neque aliud aliquid falsum ibi fieri⁴ permittes. Vocabitur⁵ ille⁶ locus Mons Gaudii, et fient haec infra Provinciam.

-
1. Tu vero comes...Om. A, C, E, F, G & H.
 2. ut vitam...D & J.
 3. atque...B, D & J.
 4. Om. fieri...D & J.
 5. Vocabitur autem...D & J.
 6. Om. ille...D & J.

Atenim beatus Petrus apostolus Trophimo suo
discipulo promisit,^a quod lanceam Domini
ei mitteret." ¹Post haec autem² Petrus³
securus in⁴ pace, hora sibi a Deo constituta,
migravit ad Dominum: sepultus que est in

-
1. Tu vero comes, cum veneris in Iherusalem (p.274)
etc. is displaced in Mss. A, C, E, F, G & H:
for the position of this passage in these mss.
vid. sup. pp. 147. For a full discussion of
the matter, vid. sup. Critical Introduction.
Section II, pp. CXLVI-CXLVII et section III,
pp. CCIX-CCXI.
 2. Om. autem...A, D & J.
 3. Petrus Bartholomeus...D & J.
 4. et in ...D & J.
-

- a. Saint Trophim was the first Bishop of Arles in
the third century. He, with others, had been
sent from Rome to evangelise Gaul. At a later
date he became confused with the Trophimus
mentioned in the new testament as the companion
of St. Paul: Pauli II Tim. iv. 20: hence the
statement that he had been promised the Holy
Lance by St. Peter: Butler, op. cit. vol. IV
Dec. 29th, p. 638. The church of St. Trophim
referred to (supra p. 274) was presumably the
cathedral of Arles, dedicated to the Saint.
The inference is that Peter Bartholomeus himself
came from Arles, but equally he may have had a
special devotion to St. Trophim.

loco illo, ubi cum lancea Domini per ignem
transierat.

¹Interea comes et² alii principes
de itinere in³ Iherusalem, qua melius ac levius
fieret, ab incolis illius regionis⁴ perquirebant.
Tunc accesserunt ad nos quidam Suriani. Sunt enim
ibi⁵ montana Libani, in quibus usque⁶ ad sexaginta
millia hominum Christianorum habitant.⁷ Et terram
illam, et montana multo tempore Christiani
possederunt, qui propter civitatem Tyri sunt,⁸

-
1. transierat. XVI I - nterea...B.
I - nterea...D: J also has a division at this
point.
 2. atque...B, D & J.
 3. Om. in...D & J.
 4. regionis illius...A, F & H. Om. illius...
B, D & J.
 5. ibi enim...H.
 6. Om. usque...D & J.
 7. millia habitant Christianorum ...D & J.
in quibus sunt usque ad LX hominum Christianorum
...B.
 8. Om. sunt...A, B, C, D, G & J.

quae vulgariter nunc Sur^a appellatur,¹ unde²
 Suriani vocantur^b. Sed insurgentibus, per
 iudicium Dei,³ Sarracenis atque Iurcis, in tanta
 oppressione servitutis isti Suriani fuerunt,
 per quadringentos et eo amplius⁴ annos, ut
 multi eorum compell^{er}entur patriam, et Christianam
 deserere legem. Si qui⁵ autem, per gratiam Dei⁶

-
1. dicitur...C, E, F & H.
vulgariter Sur nunc appellatur..B.
 2. Om. unde...B, D & J.
 3. Dei iudicium...A, D, F, H & J.
 4. et amplius...D & J.
 5. Sed qui. F, G & H.
 6. per Dei gratiam...D & J.
-

- a. i.e. Sidon.
- b. This is, of course, a piece of very bogus
 medieval etymology, of the kind made popular
 by Isidore's Etymologia.

contempsissent, cogeantur tradere pulchros
 parvulos suos ad circumcidendum vel ad¹
 tuncandum; sive² rapiebantur a sinibus
 matrum, interfecto patre et illusa parente.
 Quippe in tantam malitiam exarserant illa
 hominum genera, ut ecclesias Dei everterent³
 et sanctorum eius, vel imagines delerent,⁴ et
 quas non poterant delere, per moram, oculos
 eorum eruebant vel⁵ sagittabant; altaria
 vero omnia suffodiebant. In ecclesiis autem
 magnis,⁶ Mahumarias faciebant. Quod si aliquis
 de illis angustiatis Christianis,
 imaginem Dei vel alicuius sancti, domi suae
 habere volebat, vel redimebat eam per singulos
 menses vel annos, aut conculcata in stercore,
 coram oculis ipsius comminuebatur. Quodque

1. Om. ad...D & J.

2. vel...D & J. Om. B.

3. subverterent...D & J. converterent...B.

4. subverterent et eius, vel sanctorum eius imagines
 delerent...D & J.

5. et...F & H.

6. nostris magnis...C & G.

adhuc relatu nimis durum est, ponebant iuvenes¹
 in prostibulis et commutantes sorores eorum pro
 vino, ut² nequius agerent. Et neque his neque
 aliis tristibus, illacrymari palam etiam matres
 audebant. Et quid de his multa narramus? Coniur-
 averat certe gens illa contra Sanctum sanctorum,
 et eius haereditatem. Quod nisi iussu et instinctu
 Dei, Francorum gentes, his malis occurrissent,
 profecto bruta animalia contra illos Deus armasset:
 quod aliquando nobis praesentibus fecit.
 Et de his hacentus.³

⁴ Illi inquam Suriani, de quibus
 superius diximus, quod⁵ ad comitem venerunt,
 requisiti de meliori itinere,⁶ responderunt,
 "Est via per Damascum plana satis et plena

1. iuvenes eorum...B.

2. et...F & H.

3. acentus dictum sit...D & J.

4. ...acentus. XVII I - lli ...B.
 I - lli ...D: J also has a division at this point.

5. qui...C, G, D & J.

6. de itinere meliori...C, E & G.

victualium, sed non inuenietis aquam per duos dies. Est alia via¹ per montana Libani, tuta satis et copiosa, sed gravis multum sagmariis atque camelis. Est et alia via² secus mare, ubi tam multae ac tales angustiae sunt, ut si quinquaginta aut centum Sarraceni retinere eas³ voluerint, prohibere possint omne hominum genus.⁴ Et tamen in evangelio beati Petri,^a quod apud nos est, continetur, quod si vos estis gens illa quae Iherusalem capere debet, per maritima transibitis,⁵ licet propter difficultatem nobis impossibile videatur. Non solum autem hoc, de itinere vestro,⁶ sed et⁷ alia multa, quomodo vos

1. Om. via...D & J.

2. Om. via...B, D & J.

3. eas retinere...D & J.

4. omne genus humanum...D & J.

5. maritima transire debetis...B, D & J.

6. Om. vestro...F & H.

7. Om. et ...C & G.

a. Neither this story, nor the one previously so attributed, (vid. sup. pp. 235 et n.a.) can be traced to any surviving apocryphal material.

egistis, et qualiter agere debeatis in
evangelio illo¹ apud nos scripta continentur."

²his atque aliis modis persuadentibus
et contradicentibus aliis, reversus est
willelmus hugo de Montilio^a cum³ cruce
de qua superius diximus.^b hanc autem crucem,
cum viderent etiam comitis familiares,⁴ in
tantam itineris commotionem devenerunt, ut
praeter comitis et aliorum principum
consilium, incensis tabernaculis suis, et
primum comitis familiares, obsidionem
Archados⁵ dimitterent. Conturbabatur itaque
comes usque ad lacrymas, et usque ad sui
atque⁶ suorum odium: neque tamen ob hoc

1. evangelio suo...D & J.

2. H - is...D: J also has a division at this point.

3. Guillelmus Ugo de Montilio reversus est cum...D & J.

4. familiares comitis...D & J.

5. Om. Archados...B & D.

6. et...A, D & J.

a. The brother of the Bishop of Le Puy: vid.
sup. pp. 272 n.a.

b. vid. sup. pp. 268-272.

voluntatem suae plebis Deus imminuebat. Sed
dux Lotharingiae maxime volebat hoc iter,¹ et
plebus ad hoc² commonefaciebat.³ Itaque profecti
ab invisa illa et odiosa obsidione Archados,⁴
venimus ante Tripolim.⁵ Mitebatur etiam tunc
comes Raymundus, precibus atque numeribus
apud omnes nobiles, ut civitatem Tripolim
obsiderent. Sed omnes ei contradicebant.

⁶Apparuit eo tempore sanctus Andreas⁷
Petro Desiderii, de quo superius mentionem
habuimus^{8a} et dixit ei, "Vade et loquere

1. hoc iter volebat...D & J.

2. Om. ad hoc...A & B.

3. commonere faciebat...C, E & G. monefaciebat...
D & J.

4. Om. Archados...B & D.

5. Archados Tripolim ante venimus...H.

6. A - pparuit...D.

7. Andreas apostolus...D & J.

8. de quo supra mentio facta est...D & J.

a. vid. sup. pp. 231 et n.a.

comiti dicens,¹ 'noli² esse molestus³ tibi et
 neque aliis, quia nisi prius capta fuerit
 Iherusalem, nullum succursum habebitis. Non te
 molestat inexplata obsidio Archados: non te
 gravet quod haec civitas vel aliae quae in
 itinere sunt ad praesens non capientur, quia⁴
 imminet vobis in proximo bellum, ubi haec et
 aliae multae civitates conquistae erunt.
 Propterea tu noli molestus esse⁵ tibi neque
 tuis, sed Deus quicquid tibi concesserit⁶ in
 eius nomine⁷ libenter distribue, atque tuis
 hominibus, socius et fidelis esto amicus.⁸ Si
 sic egeris, dabit tibi Dominus Iherusalem et
 Alexandriam atque⁹ Babyloniam. Quod si haec

1. Om. dicens...B.

2. "Vade et dic comiti, "Noli...D & J.

3. molestus esse...B, D & J.

4. quod...F & H.

5. esse molestus...B, D & J.

6. sed quicquid tibi Deus concesserit...B, D & J.
 sed quicquid Deus tibi concesserit...H.

7. nomine eius...B, D & J.

8. amicus esto...B, D & J.

9. et...B.

neglexeris, nec promissa tibi a Deo consequeris,
 nec legatum eius deinceps¹ habebis; donec in
 illa angustia² positus sis, ut quo declinare
 possis ignores." ³Accepit itaque comes verba⁴
 sacerdotis; accepit vere⁵ verbis, sed operibus
 negavit. Etenim cum accepisset multam pecuniam
 a rege Tripolis, nulli unquam inde largiri
 voluit,⁶ sed etiam verberibus atque contumeliis
 cotidie suos lacerabat.⁷ Non solum autem
 haec sacerdos iste nobis⁸ dixit; verum
 etiam multa alia de quibus⁹ quaedam huic operi

-
1. Om. deinceps...B, D & J. deinde...G.
 2. angustia illa...F & H.
 3. A - ccepit...D.
 4. haec verba...D & J.
 5. accepit inquam...D & J. Om. vere...A.
 6. nulli unquam largiri aliquid inde voluit...
B, D & J.
 7. lacerabat. XVIII N - on ...B.
 8. Om. iste nobis... D & J.
 9. ...multa alia quae retro acta sunt, de
quibus...D & J.

apponimus.

¹Aliquando namque cum proficiscor
ab Antiochiam vellemus,² venit sacerdos iste³
ad me Raymundum⁴ et dixit mihi quod quidam
sibi in visione apparuerat, qui dixit ei,
"Vade in ecclesiam beati Leontii,^{5a} et invenies

1. vellemus ab Antiochia...D & J.

2. iste sacerdos...C, E & G.

3. Om. Raymundum...B.

4. Leuntii...D & J.

a. Probably the St. Leonard referred to is the most famous of the Alexandrine Martyrs who suffered under Severus, in A.D. 202. Leonard was himself a learned man and he made himself responsible for the education of his eldest son Origen. His feast day is 22nd April. Butler, op. cit.

ibi de reliquis quatuor sanctorum,¹ et tolles
 eas tecum, atque portabis in Iherusalem." Et
 ostendit ei in ipsa visione reliquias et
 reliquiarum loculos, et docuit nomina sanctorum.⁸
 Cum vero² evigilasset sacerdos, et non satis
 visioni suae crederet,³ coepit agere precibus,
 et obsecrationibus ad Deum, ut si haec revelatio
 ab ipso erat, secundo saltem sibi innotesceret.
 Adstitit ei idem⁴ sanctus in visione post
 aliquot dies, atque multum comminatus est,
 quod mandatum Domino neglexisset,⁵ et nisi usque
 ad quintam feriam sustulisset illas reliquias,⁶

1. sanctorum IIII...A. sex sanctorum...B.

2. Cum ergo...B.

3. non satis suae crederet visioni...D & J.

4. per idem...B.

5. mandatum ad non neglexisset...C.

6. feriam reliquias sustulisset illas...B.

a. Their names are given below: vid inf. p. 289.

esset sibi in¹ grave damnum et Domino suo
 Isoardo comiti. Erat enim Isoardo comes
 Diensis^a, vir in quantum noverat, Deo fidelis
 et omnibus nobis sapientia et probitate
 utilis. Cum hoc mihi² Raymundo³ narrasset
 sacerdos,⁴ retuli ego ad Aurasicensem
 episcopum,^b et ad comitem sancti Aegidii
 et ad alios quosdam.⁵ Qui, acceptis candelis,
 venimus ad ecclesiam sancti Leontii. Obtulimus

-
1. Om. in...D & J.
 2. Cum autem hoc mihi...B.
Cumque haec mihi...F & H.
 3. Om. Raymundo...B.
 4. sacerdos narasset...F & H.
 5. Om. quosdam...B.
-

- a. Isadore, Count of Die: V. et V. vol. II,
 Bk. XV, pp. 291. The Hills, op. cit., Chap.
 I, pp. 21, say that he was a vassal of the
 Count of Toulouse.
- b. vid. sup. pp. 28 n.a.

nomina sanctorum, Cyprianus,^{1a} Mezios,² Leontios,^c
 Iohannes Chrysostomus.^d Inter ipsos autem
 loculos, capsulam quandam reperimus cum reliquis,²

-
1. nomina sanctorum istorum...D & J.
 nomina sanctorum eorum...B.
 2. quandam cum reliquis reperimus...B.
-

-
- a. St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage and Martyr.
 Born in A.D. 200 Cyprian was a famous theologian
 and rose to be virtual primate of the African
 church. He was martyred under Valerian in
 258 A.D. and, exceptionally, an authentic record
 of his trial has survived. His feast day is
 Sept. 16th. Butler, op. cit.
 - b. Unknown.
 - c. vid. sup. pp. 285 et n.a.
 - d. St. John Chrysostom (347-407) Patriarch of
 Constantinople, 398-404. He is one of the
 great Doctors of the Christian church, revered
 in the east as one of the 'Three Hierarchs'.
 His name, 'of the Golden Mouth' reflects his
 famous preaching. His feast day is 27th January.
Butler, op. cit.

de quibus cum quaereremus a sacerdote cuius sancti essent illae¹ reliquiae, se nescire respondit. Cum vero ab incolis quaereremus si scirent cuius sancti essent illae² reliquiae, dicebant³ alii sancti Mercurii,^a alii autem⁴ sanctorum aliorum. Sacerdos vero levare et colligere cum reliquis aliis⁵ eas volebat.⁶ Cui ego Raymundus⁷ coram omnibus qui ibi⁸

-
1. Om. illae...F & H. istae...B.
 2. Om. illae...C.
 3. cuius sancti essent, se nescire dicebant...D & J.
 4. Om. autem...D & J.
 5. aliis reliquis...D & J. Om. aliis...C.
 6. volebat eas...B.
 7. Om. Raymundus...B.
 8. Om. ibi ...A, F & H.
-

- a. St. Mercurius of Caesarea, a Roman soldier martyred under Decius, he is one of the warrior saints popular in the East. His feast day is Nov. 25th. In orthodox icons he is frequently associated with two other warrior saints, Demetrius and St. George. This possibly accounts for the story, told in the Gesta, that the heavenly intervention in the battle against Kerbogah was led by these three saints: Gesta, (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxix, p. 69. Butler, op. cit.

aderant, fortiter dixi, "Si venire voluerit iste sanctus nobiscum¹ Iherusalem,² nomen suum et voluntatem manifestet;³ alioquin remaneat hic. Numquid de ignotis ossibus honorabimur ac ea deferemus.⁴ "Itaque die illo⁵ dimissae sunt illae reliquiae.⁶ Cum vero sacerdos alias reliquias collegisset, et pannis atque pallio eas involuisset,⁷ in nocte quae secuuta est, astitit ei vigilantibus quidam iuuenis, quasi quindecim annorum, pulcherrimus valde, qui dixit ei, "Quare hodie non accepisti reliquias meas cum ceteris?" Et presbyter ad haec,⁸ "Et quis

-
1. Om. nobiscum...D & J.
 2. in Iherusalem...B & D.
 3. nobis manifestet...B.
 4. ac ea deferemus...Om. D & J.
 5. illo die...B, D & J. Om. die...C, E & G.
 6. reliquiae illae...B, D & J.
 7. atque palliolis involuisset...C, E & G.
 8. Et respondit presbyter ad haec...B.
Ad haec presbyter...G.

es tu?"¹ Et ille, "An ignoras quis sit
 vexillifer huius exercitus?" Et respondit
 presbyter, "Nescio, Domine." Cumque secundo
 eidem quaerenti, eadem sacerdos respondisset,
 terribiliter est comminatus sacerdoti² dicens,
 "Tu revera mihi dices." Et tunc sacerdos ait,³
 Domine, dicitur de sancto Georgio,^a quod sit
 vexillifer exercitus huius.⁴ Et ille, "Bene

-
1. quis es tu, Domine?...D & J.
 2. terribiliter comminatus est ei...D & J.
 3. Et tunc ait sacerdos...D & J.
 4. huius exercitus...D & J.
 quod vexillifer sit exercitus huius...B.
-

- a. St. George: little is known of him, but he appears to have been a martyr who suffered in the pre-Constantine era, at Lydda in Syria. His legend had travelled to the west before the crusade, which itself greatly enhanced his popularity. He is another of the eastern warrior saints, often associated, in icons, with others of his kind: vi. d. sup. pp. 290 et n.a. His feast day is April 23rd. Butler, op. cit.

dixisti.. ego sum ille. Accipe igitur reliquias meas, atque seorsum cum aliis pones."¹ Cum autem sacerdos per aliquot dies² id facere³ distulisset, advenit idem Georgius⁴ et praecepit presbytero graviter dicens, "Nullatenus dimittas quod mane reliquias meas non tollas: atque iuxta in ampullulam invenies⁵ de sanguine sanctae Virginis et martyris Teclae,^{6a} quem pariter tolles, et post haec missam

-
1. seorsum pones...E.
 2. aliquid dies...A, C & E.
 3. haec facere...D & J.
 4. idem sanctus Georgius...D & J.
 5. invenies in ampullula...D & J.
 6. sanguine sanctae Teclae Virginis et Martyris...C.
-

- a. St. Thecla of Iconium, a celebrated first century Virgin and Martyr, often regarded as the proto-virgin martyr. Nothing is really known of her, but she is reputed to have been a convert of St. Paul. Her feast day is the 23rd September. Butler, op. cit.

cantabis." Atque omnia reperit haec¹ sacerdos et fecit.²

³Sed antequam ad reliqua perveniamus, de his praetermittere non debemus, qui pro amore sanctissimae expeditionis, per ignota et longissima aequora Mediteranei et Oceani navigare non dubitaverunt. Etenim Angli, audito nomine ultionis Domini⁴ in eos qui terram⁵ nativitatis Iesu Christi et apostolorum eius indigne occupaverant, ingressi mare Anglicum, et circumdata Hispania, transfretantes per mare Oceanum atque sic⁶ Mediterraneum mare sulcantes, portum Antiochiae, atque civitatem Laodiciae,

1. haec repperit...A.

2. haec atque omnia quae ei dixerat, repperit sacerdos et facit...D & J.
Ita haec omnia repperit...C, E & G.

3. et fecit. XVIII S - ed...B.
S - ed...D : J also has a division at this point.

4. Domini nostri Iesu Christi...D & J.

5. in terram...C.

6. Nativitatis Domini...D & J.

7. per mare coegerunt, atque sic...D.

antequam exercitus noster per terram illuc
veniret, laboriose obtinuerunt. Profuerunt
nobis eo tempore¹ tam istorum naves, quam
et Genvensium. Habebamus enim ad obsidionem,
per istas naves, et per securitatem earum,
commercia a Cypro² et a reliquis insulis. Quippe
hae naves cotidie discurrebant per mare, et ob
eas Graecorum naves securae erant, quia Sarraceni
eis³ incurrere formidabant, Cum vero illi Angli⁴
vidissent⁵ exercitum proficisci in Iherusalem,
et robur suarum navium a longinquitate temporis
imminutum, quippe cum usque⁶ ad triginta in
principio naves habuissent, modo vix decem vel
novem habere poterant, alii dimissis⁷ navibus suis

1. eo tempore nobis...C, E, G, D & J.

2. Cypro insula...F & H.

3. Om. eis...B.

4. Angli illi...C, G, D & J.

5. Ergo cum vidissent illi Angli...D & J.

6. qui usque...D & J. dum usque...B.

7. poterant. Tunc alii dimissis...B.

et expositis, alii autem incensis, nobiscum iter acceleraverunt.

¹Cumque ante Tripolim principes nostri² moras innecterent, tantum amorem eundi Iherusalem³ misit Dominus quod⁴ nullus se nec alium⁵ retinere ibi⁶ poterat, sed profecti vespere contra principum decreta, et contra morem exercitus, tota⁷ illa nocte perambulantes, sequenti die Berritum devenimus, atque post haec praeoccupatis ex

-
1. acceleraverunt. XX C - umque...B.
C - umque...D : J also has a division at this point.
 2. nostri principes...B, D & J.
 3. in Iherusalem...B, C, D, E, F, G, H & J.
 4. Dominus in populo quod...D & J.
 5. vel alium...D & J.
 6. Om. ibi...D.
 7. contra amorem nostri exercitus, tota...D & J.
contra morem nostri exercitus tota...A & G.
contra principum exercitus tota...D.

improviso angustis, quae Bucca torta nominantur,
 infra paucos dies et sine impedimento venimus
 Accaron. Rex autem Accaron, metuens quod civitatem
 eius obsideremus,¹ iuravit comiti propter hoc ut
 discederemus, si² caperemus Iherusalem, vel si
 essemus in regione Iudaeae per viginti dies,³ et
 rex Babyloniorum nobis in bello non occurreret,
 vel si possemus superare ipsum regem,⁴ redderet
 se nobis⁵ et civitatem suam Accaron. Interim vero
 esset amicus noster.⁶ Profecti itaque⁷ Accaron⁸
 una die in vespere, iuxta paludes quae sunt prope
 Caesaream castra tetendimus.

-
1. metuens ne civitatem eius obsideremus...B, D & J.
 2. quia si...C, E & G.
 3. per XV dies... F & H.
 4. possemus ipsum regem superare...C, E & G.
 5. nobis se...B, D & J.
 6. amicus noster esset...D & J.
amicus esset noster...B.
 7. Profecti igitur...D & J.
Profecti vero...B.
 8. ab Accaron...B, D & J.

¹ Dumque, sicut moris est, alii pro
 necessitate infra castra discurrerent, alii
 autem de sociis² suis ubi hospitati essent, a
 nobis sibi³ requirerent,⁴ columbam de upper
 exercitum volantem, accipiter in medio discurrentium,
 mortaliter plagatam deiecit.⁵ Cum autem
 sustulisset eam episcopus Atensis,^a reperit

-
1. tetendimus. De Columba quae defererebat
litteras: Capitulo XXV : C - umque...E.
 tetendimus. De Columba quae litteras
 defererebat ad nocumentum nostrum. C - umque
 ...F & H.
 2. sociis suis...C.
 3. Om. sibi...D.
 4. inquirerent...B, D & J.
 5. deiecit. De columba ab accipitre capta quae
 litteram in collo portabit. Cum...G : this is
 not a proper heading and is written in the same
 ink as the rest of the ms.
-

litteras quas illa deferabat. Et erat sententia litterarum quasi¹ huiusmodi: "rex Accaron, Duci Caesareae. Generatio canina per me transivit, gens stulta atque contensiosa, sine regimine, quibus per te et per alios, quantum tuam legem² diligis nocere desidera. Quod si vis, facile³ poteris. Hoc idem et ad alias civitates et⁴ castra mandabis." In mane autem, cum exercitum requiescere⁵ praeciperemus, expositae sunt litterae ad principes et ad omnem populum, et quomodo Deus benignus esset erga eos,⁶ adeo ut nec etiam aves ad nocendum nobis transire per aera possent, et inimicorum nostrorum etiam arcana nobis⁷ reseraret. Unde omnipotenti Deo laudes et gratias⁸ referebamus.

1. Om. quasi...D.

2. legem tuam...D & J.

3. facere...B.

4. atque...B, D & J.

5. autem exercitum cum requiescere...A, F & H.

6. benignus erat contra nos...B.

7. nobis arcana...D & J. Om. nobis...B.

8. gratias et laudes...G.

¹Atque inde profecti securi et alacres
et frequenter in prima fronte exercitus,² et in
ultima procedebamus.³ Cum vero audissent
Sarraceni qui habitabant in Ramulis, quia
transieramus fluvium qui prope est,⁴ deser-
verunt munitionem et arma, et frumentum
multum in arcis, et messes quas collegerant.
Cumque venissemus⁵ eo altera die,^{6a} cogno-
vimus quia Deus revera pro nobis pugnaret.

-
1. referebamus, XXI A - tque...B.
 2. frequentes cum prima parte exercitus...D & J.
frequentes cum signis in prima parte exercitus...B.
 3. excedebamus...C, E & G.
 4. prope erat...A, F & H.
 5. Cum autem venissemus...B, D & J.
 6. altera die eo...E.
-

a. They arrived at Ramleh on June 3rd, 1099.

Itaque obtulimus vota sancto Georgio, et quia¹
 se² ducem nostrum confessus fuerat,³ visum est
 maioribus⁴ et omni populo ut episcopum ibi
 eligeremus, quoniam ecclesiam illam in terra
 Israel primam⁵ inveneramus, et simul beatus⁶
 Georgius pro nobis Deo supplicaret, et per
 terram incolatus sui nos fideliter educeret.
 Sunt autem Ramulae a Iherosolima⁷ quasi
 quindecim milliaria.⁸ Itaque habuimus
 ibi colloquium. Et dicebant alii;⁹ "Non

-
1. Et quoniam...D & J.
 2. Om. se...G.
 3. professus est...D & J.
 4. a maioribus...D & J.
 5. quoniam in illam ecclesiam in terra Israel
 primam...J.
 quoniam in terra illa Israel prima...D.
 6. ac simul beatus...D & J. et ut beatus...B.
 7. Sunt autem Ramulae prope ab Ierusalem...D & J.
 8. sedecim milliaria...B, D & J.
 9. Et alii dicebant...A.
 Alii dicebant...F & H.
 Alii autem dicebant...C, E & G.
-

- a. They elected Robert of Rouen: Gesta (ed. Hill)
 Lib. X, xxxvi, p. 87. He reigned from 1099
 till sometime before 1120. (Gams, op. cit.,
 p. 453).

eamus ad praesens in Iherusalem, sed versus Aegyptum et Babyloniam, et si per Dei gratiam¹ superare possumus² regem Aegypti, non solum Iherusalem verum etiam Alexandriam et Babyloniam et plurima regna obtinebimus. Quod si³ eamus in Iherusalem, et non inventes sufficientem aquam⁴ deseramus obsidionem, nec hoc nec illud postea perficiemus." At vero alii e contra dicebant, "Vix sunt in exercitu mille quingenti milites, et armatorum peditum grandis numerus non⁵ est, et laudatur modo ut ignotas et⁶ longissimas regiones eamus,⁷ ubi nec

per gratiam Dei...B, D & J.

2. poterimus...D & J.

3. si modo...D & J.

4. aquam sufficientem...D & J.

5. grandis exercitus non...C & G.
grandis exercitus numerum non...E.

6. Om. et...B.

7. adeamus...B, D & J.

succursum de nostra¹ gente habere possimus,
 nec si civitatem capiamus praesidium ponere,
 nec² etiam inde reverti si necessitas fuerit,³
 valeamus? Sed nihil est hoc: viam nostram
 teneamus,⁴ et de obsidione et de siti et de
 fame et de aliis, Deus provideat servis suis.

⁵Dimisso itaque praesidio cum episcopo
 novo⁶ in castro Ramulis, oneravimus camelos et
 boves,⁷ denique et omnia iumenta nostra, et
 equos, et ad Iherusalem^{iber} vertimus.⁸ Verbum

-
1. ex nostra...B.
 2. nec sanctam civitatem capiamus, nec praesidium
 ponere nec...D & J.
 possimus nec civitatem capiamus praesidium ponere
 nec...B.
 3. cum necessarium fuerit...B, D & J.
 4. teneamus viam nostram...D & J.
 Viam rectam teneamus...F & H.
 5. D - imisso ...D: J also has a division at this
 point.
 6. On. novo...B & D.
 7. boves et camelos...B, D & J.
 8. vertimus. Ubi venerunt Iherusalem: Capitulo
Trigesimo primo: E - t verbum quod...E.

autem quod praeceperat nobis Petrus Bartholomeus,^a
 ut nisi¹ discalciati ad Iherusalem per duas
 leugas non appropinquemus,² et obliti sumus, et
 vile habuimus, dum quisque³ volebat alium
 praevenire, ex ambitione ad occupanda⁴ castella
 et villas. Erat enim ista⁵ consuetudo inter
 nos, ut si aliquis ad castellum vel villam prior
 venisset⁶ et posuisset signum cum custodia, a nullo
 alio postea contingebatur.^b Itaque hac ambitione,

-
1. ut non nisi...D & J. quod nisi...B.
 2. leugas appropinquaremus...D & J.
 3. unusquisque...D & J.
 4. ambitione occupanda...D & J.
ambitione et occupanda...C & G.
 5. Om. ista...F & H.
 6. ut si ad castellum vel villam quis prior
venisset...D & J.
-

- a. These instructions were given by Peter in his ninth vision of September 1098: vid. sup. pp. 155 et n.a.
- b. Raymond has already remarked upon this custom of the army: vid. sup. pp. 199 et n.a.

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3. unusquisque...D & J.

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5. Om. ista...F & H.

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 venisset...D & J.

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 ninth vision of September 1098: vid. sup.
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 of the army: vid. sup. pp. 199 et n.a.

de media nocte surgentes, non expectatis sociis,
omnia illa montana obtinuerunt, et villas quae
sunt in campestribus Iordanis. Pauci etiam, quibus
mandatum¹ Dei carius erat, nudis pedibus
incedentes, pro contemptu divini verbi, graviter
suspirabant, et tamen nullus socium vel amicum
ab illo ambitioso cursu revocabat.² Cum autem
sic superbe incedendo venissemus prope
Iherusalem, egressi Iherosolimitae obviam³
prioribus de nostris,⁴ homines et equos graviter
plagaverunt, et de ipsis ea die⁵ ceciderunt
tres vel quatuor, et multi plagati sunt.⁶

1. quibus hoc mandatum...D & J.

2. revocabat. XXII C - um...B.

3. egressi Sarraceni de civitate obviam...D & J.

4. obviam de prioribus nostris...F & H.

5. Om. ea die...C.

6. sunt plagati...B, D & J.

¹Obsederunt autem civitatem a septentrione dux Godfredus² et comes Flandrensis et comes Normannus; obsederunt vero eam ab ecclesia sancti Stephani, quae est quasi ad medium civitatis. a septentrione usque ad angularem turrem, quae proxima est turri David. Comes autem et exercitus eius sedit ab occidente et obsedit Iherusalem³ ab obsidione ducis usque ad ascensum⁴ montis Syon; sed quia non poterant homines eius plane accedere ad oppugnandum murum civitatis, quia vallis quaedam erat in medio, volebat mutare castella sua⁵ et locum.

⁶Igitur dum die quadam circuisset civitatem comes,⁷ et venisset in montem Syon, et vidisset ecclesiam, audissetque mira quae Deus ibi operatus est, dixit ad principes, et ad eos qui ibi aderant, "Si dimittamus haec sacra quae nobis Deus hic praesentavit,⁸ et deinceps Sarraceni occupent ea, quid erit de nobis? Quid si propter odium nostrum contaminent

-
1. O - bsederunt...D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. Om. Godfredus...B, D & J.
 3. et obsedit eam...B, D & J.
 4. ad descensum...D & J.
 5. castra sua...F & H.
 6. I - gitur...D: J also has a division at this point.
 7. Quadam autem die cum circuisset comes civitatem... D&J.
Quadam autem die dum circuisset comes civitatem...B.
 8. Quae Deus nobis praesentavit...A & F.
nobis hic Deus praesentavit...E & H.

ea atque confringant? Quis scit, an in tentationem dederit Deus haec ut¹ comprobaret quantum diligereamus eum? Certo hoc unum scio, quia nisi diligenter conservemus haec sacra, non tradet nobis illa² quae sunt infra civitatem. Itaque comes Raymundus,³ praeter suorum principum voluntatem, tentoria sua illuc transferri iussit, unde tantam invidiam suorum passus est, ut neque secum hospitari vellent, neque excubias per noctem agere, sed⁴ permanebant⁵ unusquisque in loco suo in quo prius⁶ hospitatus fuerat, nisi pauci qui cum comite illuc transmigraverunt. Sed conducebat⁷ cotidie comes milites et pedites magna⁸ mercede, qui castra sua servarent. Sunt enim⁹ in ecclesia illa haec sacra: sepulcrum David regis et Salomonis et sancti Stephani proto-martyris Sepulcrum.¹⁰

1. Deus nobis dederit haec...D & J.

2. nobis Deus illa...D & J.

3. Om. Raymundus...B & D.

4. ut neque hospitare neque excubias per noctem agere vellent...B, D & J.

5. manebant...B, D & J.

6. ubi prius...C, E & G.

7. Et conducebat...B.

8. pedites cum magna...D & J.

9. Sunt autem...B, D & J.

10. et sancti protomartyris Stephani...D & J.
et sancti martyris Stephani sepulcrum...A.
et sancti Stephani proto - martyris...C, E & G.

Migravit ibi¹ beata Maria² de saeculo:
 coenavit ibi Dominus, et resurgens a
 mortuis, discipulis suis apparuit,³ et
 Thomae; ibidem apostoli inflammati sunt
 adventu⁴ Spiritus Sancti.

⁵Itaque posita obsidione, una dierum⁶
 cum venissent principes⁷ ad reclusum qui
 erat⁸ in monte Oliveti, dixit eis, "Si cras
 oppugnaveritis civitatem⁹ usque ad nonam,

1. Mic...D.

2. beatissima Virgo Maria...D & J.

3. discipulis ibi apparuit...D & J.
 discipulis suis ibi apparuit...B.

4. in adventu...B & D.

5. sancti. IIII I - taque...B.

6. Om. una dierum...B & D.

7. venissent cum principes...C & G.

8. qui est...D & J.

9. civitatem oppugnaveritis...D & J.

tradet eam vobis Dominus.¹" Cui cum
 respondissent, "Non habemus armaementa
 quibus oppugnari murus possit, "ad haec
 respondit ille,²" Deus est omnipotens,³
 qui in⁴ scala iuncea murum expugnabit,⁵
 si voluerit. Praesto est Dominus laborantibus
 pro veritate." Itaque comparatis armaementis
 quae per noctem illam comparari potuerunt,⁶
 ita fortiter a mane usque ad tertiam diem
 civitas oppugnata est, ut compellerentur
 Sarraceni deserere⁷ interiorem murum, fracto
 a nostris⁸ antemurali, et quibusdam de nostris

-
1. tradet vobis eam Dominus...D & J.
tradet eam Dominus vobis...B.
 2. ille respondit...D & J. Respondit ille ad haec...B.
 3. Deus omnipotens est...D & J.
 4. Omnipotens Deus in scala...B.
 5. oppugnabit...D & J.
 6. potuerunt comparari...D & J. comparari illam
potuerunt...B.
 7. ut Sarraceni compellerentur deserere...A.
 8. Om. a nostris...B & D.

ascendentibus usque ad altitudinem muri interioris. Cumque iam civitas caperetur, subrepente¹ desidia et timore, oppugnatio intermissa est, et tunc multos de nostris perdidimus.² Altera vero die,³ oppugnatio incepta nulla fuit.⁴ Post haec profecti sunt omnes⁵ per regiones⁶ ad congreganda victualia, et non erat verbum de necessariis comparandis ad capiendam civitatem, sed quisque ventri et gulae necessariis⁷ serviebat, et quod multo deterius erat, non invocabant Dominum, ut liberaret eos de tantis ac de tam⁸

1. repente...B.

2. et multos de nostris tunc perdidimus...B, D & J.

3. Die vero altera...A, C, E & G.

4. nulla oppugnatio incepta fuit...D & J.

5. omnes profecti sunt...A, F & H.

6. per regionem illam...D & J. per regionem...B.

7. Om. necessariis...D & J.

8. ac tam...D & J.

multiplicibus malis, in quibus usque¹ ad mortem gravabantur. Stenim ad adventum nostrum Sarraceni clauserant ora puteorum, et cisternas dissipaverant,² et obstruxerant venas fontium. Etiam ipse³ Dominus, posuerat flumina in desertum, et exitus aquarum in sitim, a malitia eorum qui terras illas incolebant.^a Propterea cum maximo⁴ labore aqua ibi⁵ conquirebatur.⁶ Est quidam fons in descensu montis Syon, qui natatoria Syloe appellatur; magnus quidem fons, sed non profluebat nisi tertia die.

1. Om. usque...B.

2. dissipaverant cisternas...C, E, G.
Et ipse...F & H.

3. Iam ipse...D & J.

4. cum magno...B, D & J.

5. ibi aqua...D & J.

6. conquirebatur. XXIIII E - st...B.

a. Posuit flumina in desertum: et exitus aquarum in sitim.
Terram fructiferam in salsuginem, a malitia inhabitantium in ea.
Psalm CVII, 33-34.

Dicebant autem incolae de illo fonte, quod in sexta feria tantum erat solitus¹ profluere; per reliquos vero dies erat² quasi palus. Quid autem id fuerit praeter Dei voluntatem ignoramus. Cum vero, ut dictum est, nobis, in tertia die³ aqua decurreret, cum tanto impetu et oppressione aqua hauriebatur, ut mutuo se homines in aquam⁴ prolicerent, et iumenta atque⁵ pecora multa intus⁶ deperirent. Itaque repleto fonte collisione⁷ et cadaveribus animalium, ad exitum ipsius aquae, quae per quandam rupis⁸ incisuram egrediebatur, fortiores se usque ad mortem opprimebant; debiles autem

-
1. solitus erat...A, F & H.
 2. Om. erat...A, F & H.
 3. die tertia...C, E & G.
 4. in ea...D & J.
 5. et A, F & H.
 6. Om. intus...D & J.
 7. fonte et collisione...D & J.
 8. quandam aussuram rupis...B.

nihilominus illam aquam immundissimam¹ sibi tollebant. Iacebant autem multi infirmi secus fontem, ex ariditate linguae non valentes emittere² vocem, sed tantum, ore aperto, manus praetendebant illis quos videbant aquam habere. Per campos vero stabant equi, muli,³ boves et oves⁴ et plura animalia⁵ non valentia mutare gressum; sed ubi ex ariditate confecta,⁶ atque exsiccata⁷ fuerant, ubi diu steterant, corruebant, unde in nostris castris⁸ foetor gravissimus erat. Sic itaque afflicti, ad fontes longos per duas leugas et per tres mittebant pariter, ut aqua inde⁹ deferretur, et animalia adaquarentur.

1. illam immundissimam aquam...A.

2. mittere...B.

3. et muli...C, E & G.

4. Om. et oves...D & J.

5. plurima pecora...D & J. plurima animalia...C, E & G.

6. sitis confecta...D & J.

7. siccata...D & J.

8. in castris nostris...B, D & J.

9. ut inde aqua...D & J.

At ubi Sarraceni cognoverunt¹ nostros inermes
discurrere ad fontes, per montana quae sunt
asperrima, insidias eis praetendebant,² et
multos ex ipsis trucidabant³ et captivabant,⁴
et iumenta eorum et pecora secum⁵ ducebant.⁶
Itaque si quis⁷ detulisset aquam venalem in
plateis, quantum volebat inde accipiebat;
quippe quinque vel sex nummi non satis
sufficiebant⁸ alicui sitienti per diem, si
aquam limpidam mercari vellent. De vino autem

1. viderunt...B.

2. eis tendebant...B, D & J.

3. et quantos ex eis volebant trucidabant...D & J.
et quantos volebant ex ipsis trucidabant...B.

4. et captivabant...Om. C.

5. Om. secum...B, D & J.

6. deducebant...B, D & J.

7. si aliquis...B, D & J.

8. satis non sufficebant...D & J.
non satisfacibat...A & E.

nullus vel rarissimus sermo erat; praeterea calor et pulvis et ventus, si non satis per se sitis posset,¹ eam instigabant. Sed quid de his multa dicimus? Nulli vel pauci memores etiam Dei erant,² nec illorum quae vel ad oppugnandam civitatem opus erant, vel quae misericordiam³ Dei appellarent,⁴ curam gerebant. Sic neque inter verbera Deum cognoscebamus,⁵ neque ingratis ipse⁶ propitiabantur.

⁷Inter haec venit nuntius nobis,⁸

-
1. si non sitis per se satis eam...D.
 2. Pauci etiam Dei memores erant...D & J.
Pauci etiam memores Dei erant...B.
 3. nec ut misericordiam...F & H.
 4. Dei provocarent...D & J.
 5. Sicque neque Deum inter verbera agnoscebamus
...B, D & J.
 6. ipse ingratis...B, D & J.
 7. propitiabantur. XXV I - nter...B.
I - nter ...D: J also has a division at this point.
 8. Inter haec venerunt nuntii...D & J.
Inter haec nuntius venit nobis...A.

quod sex naves¹ de nostris applicuerant Ioppen, et mandabant nautae, ut praesidium mitteretur illuc, quo et turris Ioppe custodiretur, et ipsi securi in portu essent. Est autem Ioppe civitas destructa, praeter castellum, et illud etiam satis dissipatum, praeter unum turrim. Sed ibi est² portus, et proper est³ Iherusalem, itinere diei unius: ibi est enim mare proximum Iherusalem.⁴ Audientes itaque⁵ nostri de navibus, omnes gavisi sunt⁶ et misit illuc⁷ comes

1. novem naves...D & J.

2. Sed est ibi...B, D & J.

3. Om. est...B & D.

4. ibi est mare proprius Iherusalem...D & J.

5. Om. itaque...A, C, F & H.

6. Audientes itaque de navibus, omnes nostri gavisi sunt...D & J.

7. misit ibi...D & J.

Galdemarum, qui Carpinelle^a cognominabatur,¹
 cum viginti militibus, et peditibus circiter
 quinquaginta; et post ipsum² Raymundum Pelet^b
 cum quinquaginta militibus, et Willelmum de Sabra^{3c}

-
1. dicitur...D & J.
 2. post illum...B.
 3. Willelmum de Sabrane...D & J.
-

- a. Galdemar Carpinelle: a brief biography, mainly concerned with his death at the battle of Ascalon, and subsequent miraculous appearance, is to be found at the end of ms. C; it is printed in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, pp. 307-308. It appears that he was a vassal of Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons (1085-1106; Gams, op. cit.) and died as dominici exercitus signifer et ductor at the battle of Ascalon in 1101.
- b. vid. sup. p. 253.
- c. William of Sabrin in the diocese of Uzès: V. et V. vol. II, Bk. XV, p. 290.

cum sociis suis. Cum vero advenisset¹ Galdemarus
 ad campestria quae sunt citra Ramulas,
 occurrerent ei quadringenti electi² Arabes
 et Turci circiter ducenti. Ille vero, secundum
 paucitatem, dispositis militibus suis et
 sagittariis in prima fronte, versus hostes
 tendebat nihil dubitans, Dei auxilio confisus.³
 Hostes autem, credentes se eum posse absorbere,
 cum suis hominibus, et incurrebant et sagitta-
 bant et circumdebant. Ceciderunt ibi⁴ de
 parte Galdemari tres⁵ vel quatuor
 milites,⁶ et Acardus de Monte Merulo,^a

-
1. venisset...A, F & H.
 2. Om. electi...B, D & J.
 3. confisus in Dei auxilio...D & J.
Dei consilio confisus...B & C.
 4. Om. ibi...B.
 5. Ceciderunt ibi de nostris tres...D.
 6. tres milites...A, C, E, F, G & H.
-

a. Richard of Monteil: V. et V. vol. II,
 Bk. XV, p. 319.

noblis iuvenis et miles incolitus,¹
 et plagati alii;² sagittarii nostri omnes
 ceciderunt;³ de parte vero inimicorum, multi
 ceciderunt.⁴ Neque tamen ob hoc imminetia
 hostium imminuebatur neque⁵ fortitudo
 nostrorum militum, immo Dei militum⁶
 desperabat; sed ex vulneribus et ab ipsa
 morte incalescentes, tanto acriores
 instabant hostibus, quanto graviora se ab
 eis perpressos sentiebant. Sed dum nostri
 duces, iam magis fatigati ex lassitudine
 quam ex timore confecti, declinare vellent,⁷
 cognito pulvere a longe Raymundus

1. et incolitus miles...B, D & J.

2. alii plagati...D & J.

3. sagittarii vero omnes ceciderunt...D & J.
 sagittarii omnes ceciderunt...B.

4. occiderunt...C.

5. imminuebantur bella neque...D & J.

6. de Dei misericordia...D & J.

7. declinare ab acie vellent...B, D & J.

Pelet praeceps¹ et festinus in² pugnam intravit;³
 tantum pulverem commonuebat ut crederent hostes
 cum eo esse plurimos milites.⁴ Sicque per Dei gratiam⁵
 et nostri liberati sunt, et hostes fusi atque fugati,
 et circiter ducenti⁶ ex eis interfecti, et plurima
 spolia capta sunt. Etenim ista consuetudo est apud
 illas gentes, quod si fugiant, et imminere hostes
 suos,⁷ primo proiciunt arma, post haec vestimenta
 deinde subsellia.. Itaque in hoc bello contigit
 ut nostri pauci milites, donec ad lassitudinem
 ex illa multitudine inimicorum occiderent, et
 reliquorum spolia retinerent.⁸ Collectis igitur
 et divisis spoliis, cum venissent nostri milites

1. Pelet a longe praeceps...B.

2. Om. in...F & H.

3. festinus intravit...A.

4. cum eo plurimos esse milites...F & H.

5. per Dei misericordia...C.

6. Om. ducenti...C.

7. imminere hostes suos sentiant...D & J.

8. retinerent. XXVI C - collectis...B.

Ioppen, cum tanta laetitia et securitate nautae eos susceperunt ut navium etiam suarum obliviscerentur, ut¹ vigiliis per mare non agerent, et panem et vinum et pisces quae secum detulerant eis communicarent. Sic itaque ex alacritate² et securitate nautae negligentes effecti, dum vigiliis per noctem non agunt, de improvviso per mare ab hostibus circumdati³ sunt. Cumque vidissent diluculo quia non possent pugnare contra tantam multitudinem, expositis navibus suis, spolia tantum secum⁴ detulerunt, atque sic victores et victi pariter Iherosolyman⁵ reversi sunt. Sed una de navibus illis in portu⁶ non est intercepta, quae praedatum abierat. Haec autem navis cum maxima praeda regrediens, cum vidisset reliquas⁷ naves inclusas et tantam classem inimicorum,⁸ remis acta et velo, Laodiciam reversa est; ibique

-
1. et vigiliis...D & J.
 2. Et quia ex alacritate...D.
 3. ab hostibus per noctem circumdati...B, D & J.
 4. Om. secum...D & J.
 5. sic pariter victores et victi Hierosolymis...
D & J.
 6. Om. in portu...D & J.
 7. et reliquas...B.
 8. inclusas classe inimicorum...D & J.

sociis et amicis nostris, de nobis qui eramus Iherosolymis, sicuti erant, denuntiavit.

¹Sed haec omnia adhuc iuste contigisse cognoscimus, cum et sermonibus qui a Deo mandabantur nobis, fidem abnegaremus, et desperantes de Dei misericordiam, ad campestria Iordani descendebant, et colligebant ibi palmas, et baptizabantur in flumine Iordinis,² et ob hoc maxime ut transferrent se Ioppen visa Iherusalem, et dimissa obsidione; atque sic quomodocumque possent reverterentur. Sed de navibus providit Dominus³ suis incredulis.⁴ Habuimus eo tempore conventus, quia principes male conveniebant.⁵ Et quaesitio habita est de Tancredo, eo quod Bethleem occupasset, et super ecclesiam Dominicae Nativitatis, quasi super communem domum vexillum suum posuisset. Quaesitum

1. S - ed...D: J also has a division at this point.

2. Om. Iordinis...B, D & J.

3. Deus...A.

4. sed de navibus etc... Om. D.

5. male inter se conveniebant...D & J.

est etiam¹ ut aliquis de principibus in regem
 eligeretur, qui civitatem custodiret, ne
 communis facta, si nobis eam traderet² Deus, a
 nullo custodita communiter destrueretur;
 quibus ab episcopis et a clero responsum est;
 "Non debere ibi eligere regem, ubi Dominus³
 passus et coronatus est. Quod si in corde suo
 diceret, 'Sedeo super solium David, et regnum
eius obtineo,'^a degener a fide⁴ et virtute David,
 fortassis disperderet eum Deus,⁵ et loco et
 genti irasceretur.⁶ Praeterea clamat propheta,⁷
 'Cum venerit Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit unctio;^a

1. Om. etiam...D & J.

2. illam traderet...D & J.

3. ubi Deus...C, D & J.

4. de fide...D & J. Deus eum...A.

5. eum Dominus...F, G & H.

6. obtineo', fortassis disperderet et genti
 irasceretur...D.

7. propheta, dicens...D & J.

a. I Regum XVI, 10 & 11.

b. Dan. IX, 24-27.

quod advenisse, cunctis gentibus¹ manifestum erat. Sed esset aliquis² Advocatus, qui et civitatem custodiret, et custodibus civitatis, tributa regionis divideret et redditus." Atque his et aliis multis de causis,³ dilata est⁴ electio et impedita,⁵ donec ad octavum diem post captam Iherusalem.^a Neque solum hoc⁶ verum etiam aliud aliquid nobis non proveniebat; sed labor et tribulatio per singulos dies⁷ in populo conduplicabatur.⁸

1. Om. gentibus...B.

2. Sed si aliquis esset...D.

3. et aliis de causis multis...D & J.

4. Om. est...D & J.

5. impeditur...F & H.

6. hoc solum...A, D & J.

7. per dies singulos...B, D & J.

8. duplicabatur...A, C, D, E, F, G & J.

a. this is hindsight; in fact Godfrey was elected eight days after the fall of Jerusalem, but this was not prearranged as the syntax here suggests. vid. inf. pp. 353 et n.a.

¹tandem misericors et propitius Dominus,
 propter nomen suum simul ne adversarii nostri
 legi eius insultarent,² dicentes, Ubi est Deus
eorum,^a mandavit nobis per episcopum Podiensem
 dominum Ademarum, qualiter iram eius placere
 possemus,³ et impetrare misericordiam. Sed nos⁴
 de mandato Domini⁵ reticentes, faciendum esse
 illud praedicabamus, ne si populus hoc mandatum
 Domini⁶ praeterisset, culpabilis magis, maxime
 affligeretur. Etenim tam benignus erga nos
 erat Dominus, ut frequenter⁷ legatos suos

-
1. conduplicabatur. XXVII T - andem...B.
 T - andem...D : J also has a division at this
 point.
 2. adversarii nostri loci eius simul insultaret...D.
 3. placari possemus...F & H.
 4. et nos...D & J.
 5. mandato Dei...F & H.
 mandatum Dei...E & G.
 6. Om. Domini...D & J.
 7. Om. frequenter...D & J.
-

a. Psalm CXV, 2.

ad nos mitteret, sed quia fratres erant, non credebant eis. Loquutus est¹ episcopus Petro Desiderio,² dicens, "Loquere ad principes et ad omnem populum et dices,³ 'Vos qui venistis de tam longinquis regionibus, ut Deum et Dominum exercituum hic ador⁴etis, sanctificamini ab immunditiis vestris et revertatur unusquisque ab operibus suis pravis. Et post haec, nudis pedibus circuite civitatem⁴ Iherusalem, invocantes Dominum⁵ et ieiunabitis. Si sic egeritis, et oppugnaveritis civitatem viriliter⁶ usque ad novem dies, capietur. Alioquin omnia mala quae passi estis, vobis a Domino multiplicabuntur." Cumque haec dixisset sacerdos ad fratrem ipsius episcopi Willelmum Hugonem et ad Isoardum comitem

-
1. Loquutus est ergo...D & J. Om. est...B.
 2. Loquutus est Petro episcopus Desiderio...E.
 3. omnem populum dicens, ...A, F & H.
 4. Om. civitatem...B, D & J.
 5. Deum...D, F, H & J.
 6. Iherusalem viriliter...D & J.

dominum suum, et ad quosdam de clero,
 coadunaverunt consilium de principibus et
 de omni populo, et dixerunt, "Viri fratres,
 scitis¹ quae causa itineris nostri sit, ac
 tantae defatigationis et negligenter agimus,
 adeo ut neque comparemus ea quae necessaria
 sunt ad oppugnandum civitatem, neque curam
 gerimus quomodo Deum nobis reconciliemus,
 quem tam multipliciter omnes in omnibus
 offendimus, quem a nobis expulimus, et longe
 multum per nostra opera prava² a nobis
 effugavimus. Et nunc si vobis omnibus³
 iustum videtur,⁴ reconcilietur unusquisque
 fratri suo quem offendit, et frater benigne
 fratri condonet. Et post haec humiliemur
 Deo⁵ et circumeamus Iherusalem⁶ nudis pedibus

1. vos scitis...D & J.

2. per nostra prava opera...D, D & J.

3. Om. omnibus...D & J.

4. esse videtur...F & H.

5. humiliemur Domino...F & H.

6. civitatem Iherusalem...C, E, F, G & H.

et Dei misericordiam, per sanctorum patrocina
 appellemus, ut ille Deus omnipotens, qui pro
 nobis et de nobis servis suis carnem assumpsit,
 exinanita forma domini sui, et qui humiliter
 super asinam sedens, passurus in cruce mortis
 supplicium pro nobis, hanc civitatem ingressus
 est, turbis ei occurrentibus et suscipientibus
 eum¹ cum magno processionis honore: ille nos
 ad honorem et gloriam nominis sui et civitatem
 aperiat,² et facere iudicium de inimicis
 suis et nostris,³ nobis⁴ concedat, qui locum
 passionis⁵ et sepulturae eius indigne obtinentes,
 contaminant, et qui nos a tanto beneficio humiliatis
 divinae et redemptionis nostrae excludere contendunt."⁶

1. et suscipientibus eum...Om. D & J.

2. nobis aperiat...D & J.

3. et de nobis...B.

4. nobis omnibus...D & J.

5. passionis suae...D & J.

6. contendunt. P. 176.45; this reference, to the Bongars edition, written in a hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, is written over Chap. number XXVIII, and marks the end, in ms. B of the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers. The continuation is reproduced infra, Appendix IV, pp. CCLXXVII et seq.

Placuerunt haec verba principibus et omni populo, et ideo publice iussum est ut in sexta feria quae in proximo¹ erat, clerici praepararent^{at} se ad processionem cum crucibus et sanctorum reliquiis,² et milites atque omni viri fortes sequerentur eos cum tubis et vexillis, atque armati nudis pedibus incederent. Quae omnia secundum iussionem Dei et principum laetenter explevimus. Namque cum venissemus in montem Oliveti, et essemus in loco unde Dominus post resurrectionem³ ascendit in coelum, praedicavimus in populo dicentes, "Quoniam secuti sumus Dominum usque ad locum Ascensionis eius, et ulterius pergere nequimus, condonet unusquisque fratri suo qui laesus est, ut Deus nobis propitius fieri possit."⁴ Quid multa?⁵ Condonaverunt omnes, et largissimis eleemosynis Dei misericordiam appellabant, ut in fine populum suum non desereret,⁶

1. quae proxima...C, E, D & J.

2. praepararent se cum crucibus et sanctorum reliquis ad processionem...D & J.

3. resurrectionem suam...D & J.

4. Deus omnipotens nobis possit fieri propitius ...D & J.

5. Quid ultra?...C.

6. suum Deus non desereret...D & J.

quem usque ad finem gloriose et mirabiliter adduxerat.

¹Placatur itaque Dei² misericordia, quoniam omnia quae prius nobis adversa³ fuerant, nunc commode proveniebant.⁴ ⁵Sed licet multa praetereamus, hoc unum praeterire non libuit. Cum circuiremus civitatem de foris cum processioneis tumultu, Sarraceni et Turci infra civitatem girabant,

1. adduxerat. De situatione civitatis Iherusalem; Trigesimo secundo. There follows a section of Fulcher down to the fall of Jerusalem, then Raymond's chronicle continues, Licet si aliqua praetereamus, hoc unum etc....E.

2. Om. Dei...C.

3. adversa nobis...C.

4. commode nobis proveniebant...D & J.

5. Sed...There is a division in J at this point.

multimode nos deridentes, multas cruces super
 muros ponebat in patibulis,¹ afficientes eas²
 cum verberibus atque³ contumeliis. Quibus signis
 nos e vicino misericordiam Dei sperantes operibus⁴
 ad expugnandam civitatem, die noctuque
 instabamus.⁵ Praefecerant itaque dux et comites
 Normanniae et Flandriae,⁶ Gastonem de Beardo.^E

1. cruces in patibulis super muros ponebant...G.

2. Om. eas...A.

3. et...D & J.

4. Om. operibus...D & J.

5. operibus instabamus...D & J.

6. Om. et Flandriae...D.

a. Gaston, vicecount of Béarn: V. et V. vol. II, Bk. SV, p. 291. He appears to have been a Poitevin; The Cartularius de St. Saturnini of Toulouse, (ed. E. Privat, Toulouse, 1887) re Artaxona in Aragon, No. 464, remarks that Pedro I of Aragon died in the lands of Gaston vicecount of Béarn in 1102, ultra portas i.e. in France north of Navarre.

operariis qui machinas construebant, et crates
 atque¹ aggeres, ad invadendum murum componebant.
 Hic autem Gasto nobilissimus princeps, apud
 omnes honoratus erat, utilitatis suae et
 probitatis merito; atque ideo opus sibi a
 principibus commissum, sagaciter operariis
 dividens, sapienter accelerabat. Principes
 autem tantum gerebant curam de comportanda
 lignorum materie, ^{similiter} et Gasto, de construendis
 necessariis sollicitudinem agebat.² Similiter
 comes Raymundus praefecerat Willelmum Ricau^a
 operariis suis in montem Syon, et episcopum
 Albariensem Sarracenis et aliis qui ligna

1. et...D & J.

2. et Gasto, de construendis etc. Om. F & H.
 This is a significant omission of F & H: vid.
 sup. Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CLXX.

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a. Probably a Genoese engineer from the name.
 Raymond of Toulouse appears to have employed
 the bulk of the Genoese sailors who had lost
 their ships at Genoa: vid. inf. pp. 337 et
 n.a.

deferebant. Acceperant multa castella¹ et villas
 sarracenorum homines comitis et² Sarracenis,
 quasi servis suis operam indicebant,³ qui quinquaginta vel sexaginta portabant suo collo trabem
 maximam, quam non deferrent quatuor paria bovm,
 ad machinas construendas Iherusalem.⁴ Quid multa?
 omnes uno animo parilique consensu opus agebant,
 atque laborabant, et construebant, et adiuuabant;
 nullus segnis, nullius manus retardabatur.⁵
 Omnes spontanei operabantur, praeter artifices.
 Illis vero⁶ dabatur merces de collectis, quae factae
 in populo fuerant.⁷ Sed comes Raymundus⁸ de censu
 suo suis operariis debita solvebat. Et certe manus
 Domini operabatur et operantes adiuuabat. Cumque

1. castra...C.

2. Acceperant namque homines comitis multa castella
 et villas Sarracenorum et...D & J.

3. suis imperabant...D.

4. qui quinquaginta etc. Om. D.

5. remittabantur...D & J.

6. Om. vero...D & J.

7. in populo erant...C.

8. Om. Raymundus...D & J.

brevi intervallo omnia molimina nostra et machinae comparatae essent, habuerunt nostri principes consilium et dixerunt, "Omnis homo praeparet se ad pugnam in quinta feria.¹ Interim orationibus et vigilis² atque eleemosynis operam demus.³ Iumenta vestra cum pueris artificibus nostris et lignariis praestate ut deferant trabes et perticas et palos atque virgas⁴ ad crates faciendas. Dictum est duo et duo⁵ milites cratem unam curvam faciant, vel unam scalam. Et ne dubitetis laborare pro Deo, quia in proximo labores vestros terminabit." Haec autem omnia libenter accepta sunt.⁶ Post haec mandatum est quis de principibus cum sua gente quam partem urbis expugnaret, et quae machinae quibus locis applicarentur.

-
1. homo praeparet se in quinta feria ad pugnam...A.
 2. atque vigilis...G.
 3. et vigilis operam demus atque eleemosynis...
D & J.
 4. atque palos et virgas...D & J.
 5. Duo et duo...D & J.
 6. acta sunt...F & G.

¹Videntes autem Sarraceni qui infra civitatem erant multitudinem machinarum quae construebantur, infirmiora murorum loca, adeo adversum nos munierunt, ut quibusdam desperabile videretur. Instante² autem iussae oppugnationis die, dux et comes Flandrensis atque³ Normanniae comes, cum vidissent quod Sarraceni tante ac talia⁴ munimina argumentorum contra nostras machinas⁵ composuissent, tota nocte machinas suas, et crates et aggeres transportaverunt contra urbis partem quae est ab ecclesia beati⁶ Stephani usque ad vallem Iosaphat.⁷ Vos vero qui⁸ haec legitis, non putetis parvum laborem atque industriam ibi fuisse.

-
1. V - identes...D: J also has a division at this point.
 2. videretur posse expugnari. Instante...D & J.
 3. et...C, E & G.
 4. aotalia...A.
 5. contra omnes machinas nostras...D & J.
contra machinas composuissent...C, E & G.
 6. sanoti...D & J.
 7. Iosaphat. Si qui XXIIII^o De obsidione eiusdem civitatis; Ca.XXXIII^o V - os ...E.
 8. Vos autem qui...C & G.

etenim fere milliarum ibi est,¹ a loco unde
 machinae, dissolutae per membra comportabantur,
 usque ad eum locum ubi construebantur. Mane
 autem facto, cum vidiessent Sarraceni omnia
 instrumenta atque tentoria, nocturno tempore
 illuc deportata, obstupuerunt. Nec solum
 Sarracenis, verum etiam nobis in stuporem
 fiebat. Manifeste etenim² potuit cognoscere
 fidelium quia manus³ Domini nobiscum erat.
 haec autem transmigratio ob hoc facta est,
 quia locus planus erat, et conveniens instrumentis
 ad murum coniungendis,⁴ quae non poterant,
 nisi per plana conduci; et etiam ob hoc,
 quia illa pars urbis infirmior esse videbatur,
 et⁵ quia longe steterat a castris, immunita
 pars illa permanserat.⁶ Haec autem pars civitatis
 est a septentrione. Nihil minus laborabat comes

1. est ibi...D & J.

2. enim A & C.

3. Manifeste etenim potuit quisque cognoscere
 fidelis quia manus...D & J.

4. adiungendis...D & J.

5. Qm. et...D & J.

6. remanserat...J.

et sui in monte Syon, qui civitati est ad meridiem,¹ sed habebat modo multos² adiutores, scilicet Willelmum sbriacum^a et cum eo omnes nautas Genuenses, qui naves suas, sicut superius narravimus,^b apud Ioppen perdiderant; sed extraxerunt de navibus suis cordas et malleos ferri, atque clavos et ascias,³ atque dolabra et secures quae permaxime⁴ nobis necessariae fuerunt. Sed quid moramur?

⁵Iamque dies pugnae constitutae advenerat^c et oppugnatio incepta est. Sed hoc unum imprimis dicere volumus, quod, pro

-
1. qui est civitati ad meridiem...D & J.
 2. habebat tunc multos...D & J.
 3. ascias et secures...D.
 4. quae maxime...C, E & G.
 5. I - amque: J also has a division at this point.

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- a. Presumably a Genoese engineer; another has been mentioned earlier: vid. sup. pp. 332 et n.a.
 - b. vid. sup. p. 321.
 - c. The final assault on the city began on July 13th, 1099.

opinione nostra et multorum,¹ usque ad sexaginta millia hominum bellig^{er}atorum erant infra civitatem, exceptis parvulis et mulieribus, de quibus non erat numerus. Et qui de nostris ad arma valebant,² in quantum nos existimabamus,³ numerum duodecim millia non transcendebant, sed habebamus multos debiles atque pauperes. Et erant in exercitu nostro mille ducenti vel trecenti milites⁴, et ut ego arbitror, non amplius. Haec autem ideo diximus, ut intelligatis quod sive grande sive parum sit, nihil frustra in nomine Domini incipitur, quod⁵ subsequens pagina continet. Ut autem nostri turres, ad muros⁶ ducere coeperunt,⁷ ab omni parte volabant

-
1. opinione multorum et nostra...D & J.
 2. Et de nostris ad arma valentes...D & J.
 3. existimamus...C, G, D & J.
 4. ducenti milites vel trecenti...P & H.
 5. parum sit, quod in nomine Domini incipitur nihil frustra evenire, quod...D & J.
 6. ad muros...D & J.
 7. minare ceperunt...D & J.

lapides excussi a tormentis, atque petrariis,
 et sagittae ut grando innumerabiles. Sed ista
 patienter servi Dei sustinebant, habentes
 fidei propositum, vel quod¹ occumberent, vel
 quod ad praesens se de hostibus vindicarent.
 Fiebatque pugna nullo indicio² victoriae, sed
 cum iam proximarent cum machinis ad³ muros,
 non solum lapides et sagittae, verum etiam
 ligna et stipulae proiciebantur, et super haec
 ignis et mallei lignei involuti pice et cera et
 sulphure et stupa et panniculis igne succensis
 proiciebantur in machinas. Mallei inquam
 clavati ab omni parte, ut quaqua parte
 ferirent, haerent, et haerendo inflammarent.
 Ligna vero et stipulam ideo iaciebant, ut saltim
 incendia⁴ inde accensa, retardarent quos neque
 gladius et alta moenia⁵ nec profundum vallem

1. quod vel...D & J.

2. Fiebatque hoc nullo indicio...D.

3. et ad...F & H.

4. Om. incendia...D.

5. alta maenia retardarentur nec...D & J.

retinere poteratⁿ. Acta est itaque pugna ab ortu solis usque ad occasum die illa, ita mirabiliter, ut nusquam mirabilius aliquid gestum esse credatur. Et adhuc Deum omnipotentem ducem ac¹ conductorem nostrum appellebamus, confidentes de eius misericordia. Nox autem adveniens, utrumque timorem² conduplicavit. Metuebant vero³ Sarraceni ne per noctem civitas a nostris caperetur,⁴ vel sequenti die, iam fractis antemuralibus et completo valle, citissime murus interior⁵ pervaderetur. At vero nostri hoc solum metuebant, ne admotas machinas aliquo modo Sarraceni incenderent, et sic confortarentur. Propterea ab utrisque custodiae ab utrisque labor ab utrisque insomnes curae. Nunc spes certissima; imminet dubius timor. Operabantur isti pro Deo spontanei, opera ad

1. et...E & H. ad...C.

2. timorem nostrum...D & J.

3. Metuebant enim...D & J.

4. a nostris corripere...A, E, F & H.

5. Om. interior...D & J.

capiendum; operabantur illi pro legibus
 Manumeth, inviti, opera ad resistendum. Quae
 vero et qualia molimina ab utrisque per noctem
 facta fuerint, mirabile credite. Mane autem facto,
 tantus ardor nostris incubuit, ut usque ad
 muros progredierentur, et machinas illuc deduc-
 erent. At Sarraceni tantas machinas fecerant,
 ut unicuique de nostris, novem vel decem
 opponerentur, atque sic multum nostra molimina¹
 impediabant. Et tamen haec dies,² erat nona,³
 de qua sacerdos dixerat,^a quod usque eam caperetur.⁴
 Nec quid nimiam moram agimus? Iam machinae

-
1. multum molimina nostra...D & J & C.
 nostra molimina multum...A.
 Om. molimina nostra...D.
 2. Haec tamne dies...E.
 3. nona erat...E.
 4. quod usque ad eam civitas caperetur...D & J.
-

a. This refers to the vision of Peter Desiderius
 and its prophesy: vid. sup. p. 326.

nostrae quassabantur ad tam crebos lapidum
 iotus, et viri deficiebant nostri, multimode
 defatigati.¹ Sed restabat adhuc Dei misericordia,
 nusquam expugnabilis nusquam superata, in
 tribulationibus semper opportuna.^p Verum hoc²
 praeterire non libuit, quod, cum³ duae mulieres
 petrariam unam de nostris fascinare vellent,
 lapis de eodem tormento⁴ viriliter excussus,
 mulieres carminantes cum tribus puellis parvulis
 allisit,⁵ atque animabus excussis, incantationes
 avertit. Cumque iam circa meridiem omnes nostri
 conturbarentur, tam ex lassitudine quam desperatione,
 quippe cum unicuique de nostris plures
 adversarii resisterent, praeterea murus firmissimus⁶
 et altus, et multa copia atque opportunitas, quae
 hostibus ad munimen nobis autem⁷ adversa.

1. multitudine iam defatigati...G.

2. Sed hoc...D & J.

3. dum...D, E & J.

4. Om. de eodem tormento...D & J.

5. cum tribus pueris allisit...D & J.

6. murus fortissimus...C.

7. Om. autem...A, F & H.

Inter huiusmodi defectum nostrum et hostium
 exultationem accessit mediatrix Dei misericordia,
 quae luctum nostrum in gaudium convertit, quod
 nulla dies a nobis¹ auferat. Etenim consilium
 quorundam iam agebatur, ut machinae nostrae
 reducerentur, quarum pars combusta, altera
 conquassata fuerat. Cum quidam miles² de
 monte Oliveti cum suo clipeo³ ventilare
 coepit ad eos qui erant de comitis parte⁴
 et ad alios⁵ ut ingrederentur. Quis autem iste
 miles fuerit, cognoscere non potuimus. Hoc
 signo nostri confortati qui iam languebant,
 coeperunt incurrere muris, alii autem scalas
 et funes sursum iniiciebant. Praeterea quidam
 iuvenis innexuerat sagittas et sagittaverat⁶
 culcitras, quibus muniabatur propugnaculum

1. dies nobis...A, F & H.

2. Tum ecce miles quidam...D & J. miles quidam...
 A, F & H.

3. clipeo suo...D & J.

4. de parte comitis...D & J.

5. et aliis...C.

6. iuvenes ignierant sagittas et sagittaverunt...
 D & J.

quod Sarraceni fecerant, contra turrem ligneam¹
 ducis et duorum comitum; erant autem culcitrae
 de gambasio. Ibi itaque ignis accensus effugavit
 eos, qui defendebant munitionem. Tum² velociter
 dux et qui³ cum eo erant solverunt cratem⁴ de-
 sursum qua muniebantur anteriora turris⁵
 conductae, a summo usque ad medium, atque sic
 facto ponte, viriliter et imperterriti intrare
 in⁶ Iherusalem coeperunt.

⁷Inter primos ingressus est⁸

1. Om. ligneam...D.

2. Tunc...F & H.

3. Om. qui...D.

4. Om. cratem...A.

5. interiora turris...D.

6. Om. in...F & H.

7. I - nter...D: J also has a division at
 this point.

8. Om. est...C, E & G.

Tancredus et dux Lotharingiae, qui quantum sanguinem ea die fuderint, vix credibile est.¹ Post illos ascendebant omnes, et Sarraceni iam patiebantur. Sed mirum quod modo dicam. Cum iam² civitas pene correpta esset a Francigenis, adhuc tamen resistebant his³ qui erant de parte⁴ comitis, ac si nunquam capiendi essent. Sed cum iam nostri moenibus potirentur civitatis,⁵ et turribus, tunc videres mirabilia.⁶ Alii namque,⁷ quod levius erat, obtruncabantur capitibus; alii autem sagittati, de turribus saltare cogebantur; alii vero⁸ diutissime torti et ignibus adusti flammeriebantur. Videbantur per vicos et plateas civitatis aggeres

-
1. vix est credibile...D & J.
 2. Cumque iam...D & J.
 3. Sarraceni his...D & J.
 4. ex parte...A.
 5. nostri potirentur moenibus...A.
moenibus nostri potirentur...C.
 6. tunc erat videre mirabilia...D & J.
 7. namque illorum...D & J.
 8. alii autem...A.

capitum et manuum atque pedum. Per cadavera
vero publice hominum et equitum¹ discursus
erat. Sed parva et pauca adhuc quae dicimus.²
Sed ad templum Salomonis veniamus, ubi suos
ritus atque solemnitates cantare solebant. Sed
quid ibi factum est? Si verum dicimus, fidem
excedimus. Sed tantum sufficiat,³ quod in templo
et in porticu Salomonis equitabatur in sanguine
usque ad genua et usque ad frenos equorum.^a Iusto
nimirum iudicio, ut⁴ locus idem eorum sanguinem
exciperet, quorum blasphemias in Deum tam longo
tempore pertulerat. Repleta itaque cadaveribus
et sanguine civitate, confugerunt aliquanti ad
turrem David, et poposcerunt a comite Raymundo
securitatis dexteram, et dederunt⁵ ei arcem.

-
1. Om. hominum et equitum...D.
 2. pauca ista quae diximus...D & J.
quae adhuc...A, F & H.
 3. Sed tantum hoc dixisse sufficiat...D & J.
 4. Iusto miroque Dei iudicio...D & J.
 5. reddiderunt...D & J.
-

a. Rev. XIV, 20.

¹Capta autem urbe^a operae pretium erat videre devotionem peregrinorum ante Sepulcrum² Domini, quomodo plaudebant, exultantes et cantantes canticum novum Domino.^{3b} Etenim mens eorum, Deo victori et triumphanti vota laudum offerebat, quae explicare verbis⁴ non poterat.

⁵Nova dies, novum gaudium, nova⁶ et perpetua

-
1. C - apta...D: J also has a division at this point. non poterant. Quomodo Franci intraverunt civitatem Iherusalem; Ca.^oXXXIIII^o (Fulcher)
De ordinationibus quos tenuerunt Franci quam civitas capti fuit; C^oXXXV. C - apta...E.
 2. ad sepulcrum...D & J.
 3. quomodo etc. ...Om. E.
 4. Om. verbis...D & J.
 5. N - ova...D: J also has a division at this point.
 6. gaudium et exultatio, nova...D & J.
-

- a. The city fell on the 15th July 1099.
- b. Rev. V, 9.

laetitia, laboris atque¹ devotionis consummatio,
 nova verba, nova cantica ab universis exigebat.
 Haec, inquam, dies celebris in omni saeculo
 venturo, omnes dolores atque labores gaudium et
 exultationem fecit; dies haec, inquam totius
 paganitatis exinanitio, Christianitatis confirmatio,²
 et fidei nostrae renovatio.³ Haec dies quam
fecit Dominus, exultemus et laetemur in ea;^a
 et merito⁴ quia in hac illuxit et benedixit
 Dominus⁵ populo suo. In hac die dominus Ademarus,
 Podiensis episcopus a multis in civitate visus
 est. Etiam multi⁶ de eo testantur, quod ipse primus

1. et...D & J.

2. totius Christianitatis confirmatio et paganitatis
 exinanitio, ...D & J.

3. renovatus est...D.

4. Om. et merito...D & J.

5. Om. Dominus...D.

6. Et etiam multi...D & J.
 Etenim multi...H.

a. Psalm CXVIII, 24.

murum ascendens, ad ascendendum socios
 atque populum invitabat. In hac autem die¹
 electi apostoli ab Iherosolymis, per universum
 mundum dispersi sunt.² In hac eadem die apostolorum
 filii, Deo et patribus urbem et patriam
 vindicaverunt. Haec celebrabitur dies³ idus
 Iulii, ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui,⁴ qui
 dedit precibus ecclesiae suae urbem et patriam
 quam iuravit patribus, et reddidit in fide et
 benedictione filiis. In hac die cantavimus
 officium de Resurrectione,⁵ quia in hac die⁶

1. In hoc autem die...F.

2. In hac autem die etc. ...Om. C.

3. Haec dies celebratur...D & J.

4. nominis Christi...D & J.
 nominis Dei...A, F & H.

5. officium de Resurrectione cantavimus...D & J.

6. Om. die...D & J.

ille qui sua virtute a mortuis surrexit,¹
 per gratiam suamnos² resuscitavit. Et de his
 hacentus dictum sit.

³Peractis igitur sex vel septem diebus,
 solemniter in octava die coeperunt agere principes
 ut aliquis eligeretur in regem, qui omnium
 curam gerens, et tributa regionis colligeret,
 et ad quem plebs terrae reverteretur, et qui
 provideret ne ulterius terra⁴ desolaretur. Cumque
 id ageretur congregati sunt de clero quidam, et
 principibus dixerunt, "Laudamus electionem vestram,
 verum si recte et ordinate faciatis, sicut sunt
 aeterna priora temporalibus, sic vicarium spiritualem
 prius eligite,⁵ post haec regem⁶ qui rebus agendis

1. surrexit...D & J.

2. Om. nos...A, C, F, G & H.

3. P - eractis...D: J also has a division at this point.

4. Om. terra...D & J.

5. Om. prius eligite...A, C, E & G.
 eligite prius...D & J.

6. Om. regem...A, C, D, E, G & J.

seculariter¹ praesit.² Alioquin invalidam esse
 censemus quicquid eligitis.³ "Principes vero
 cum haec audissent, irati per⁴ nimium, electionem
 nihilominus⁵ accelerabant. Sed imminutus erat
 clerus, ablato domino Ademaro, Aniciensi⁶ pontifice,
 qui in vita sua Moyses alter exercitum nostrum,⁷
 rebus et colloquiis⁸ divinis confovens continebat.
 Post illum autem cum Willelmus Aurasicensis,^a vir

-
1. secularibus...D & J.
 2. post haec agendis seculariter qui rebus praesit
...C.
 3. censemus electionem vestram...D & J.
 4. Om. per...D & J.
 5. tamen nihilominus...D & J. Om. nihilominus...A.
 6. Ademaro Podiensi...D & J: vid. sup. Critical
Introduction, Section II, pp. CLI-CLII.
 7. alter Moyses, nostrum exercitum...D & J.
 8. colloquiis...D & J.
-

- a. William, Bishop of Orange; he in fact died at
 Marra ca. 20th December, 1098; Gesta (ed. Hill)
 Lib. X, xxiii, p. 80. For further details
 of his career, vid. sup. pp. 28 n.a.

bonae memoriae et episcopus, pro viribus nobis prodesse vellet, brevi in tempore apud Marram, in pace¹ quievit.² Sic itaque bonis sublati,³ humiliter se clerus agebat, praeter episcopum Albariensem et alios quosdam.⁴ Episcopus namque⁵ Martranensis^a aliter quam recto itinere gradiens, cum Bethleen Davidicam ecclesiam⁶ fraudulenter obtinuisset,^b tertio vel quarto die a Sarracenis captis, nusquam

1. Om. in pace...D.

2. conquievit...D & J.

3. bonis ablatis...D & J.

4. et paucis quibusdam...A, C, E, F, G & H.

5. autem...C, E & G.

6. Bethlehemiticam ecclesiam...D & J.

a. The Bishop of Martorano in Southern Italy, possibly Ridulphus (dates unknown, but late 11th cent.): Gams op. cit. p. 894. According to the Gesta, as Raymond goes on to say, he was captured by the Sarracens and disappeared: Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. X, xxxix, p. 94. This happened on 10th August 1099.

b. From this it would appear that the Bishop was a friend of Tancred, who Raymond has already complained, had laid hands on the church of Bethlehem: vid. sup. p. 322.

inter nostros¹ comparuit. Spreta itaque admonitione²
 et contradictione nostra,³ hortabantur⁴ comitem
 sancti Aegidii, ut acciperet regnum. At ille
 nomen regium se perhorrescere fatebatur in
 illa civitate; sed praebere se aliis⁵
 consensum, si id⁶ acciperent. Ob hoc pariter
 elegerunt⁷ ducem^a et obtulerunt eum ad
 Sepulcrum Domini. Post haec autem requirebat

-
1. Om. inter nostros...D.
 2. admonitione nostra...A.
 3. et contradictione clericorum...D & J.
Om. nostra...A.
 4. hortabantur principes...D & J.
 5. se illis...D & J.
 6. si id alius...D & J.
 7. elegerunt pariter...D & J.
-

- a. Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, was elected, with the title Advocatus Sancti Sepulcri, on the 23rd July 1099.

dux arcem David a comite, et ille excusabat
 dicens¹ se velle moram agere in regione illa
 donec in Pascha, et interim se et suos honeste
 haberi velle.² At dux potius se aiebat, dimissurum
 cetera³ quam turrem. Ideo⁴ multiplicabantur
 lites. Flandrensis et Normanniae comites favebant
 duci, et omnes etiam pene de terra comitis Raymundi⁵
 credentes reddita turre, consequenter eum esse
 reversurum.⁶ Non solum autem Provinciales in
 hoc domino comiti suo⁷ adversabantur; verum⁸
 multa de eo turpia composuerunt ne in regem eligeretur.⁹

1. At ille hoc excusabat dicens...D & J.

2. honeste velle haberi...D.

3. caetera dimissurum...D & J.

4. Inde...D & J. Et ideo...F.

5. On. Raymundi...D & J.

6. turre, se consequenter eum eo esse reversuros
 ...D & J.

7. suo comiti...D & J.

8. verum etiam...D & J.

9. ne eligeretur in regem...D & J.

Vacuus itaque¹ comes sociorum et amicorum auxilio,² pro iudicio subeundo tradidit turrem in manu Albariensis episcopi. Ille vero non exspectato iudicio, tradidit duci turrem.³ Cumque episcopus appellaretur⁴ de hoc facto proditor, dicebat se coactum⁵ fuisse, atque passum violentiam. Sed hoc ego in veritate comperi, plurima arma esse illata in patriarchalem domum, ubi episcopus manebat, propter⁶ ecclesiam Dominici Sepulcri. Sed de violentia sibi illata ille dicebat, et frequenter clam huiusce rei⁷ comitis familiares insimulabat. Reddita itaque turre, in magnam odium

1. Destitutus itaque...D & J.

2. consilio...D & J.

3. tradidit turrem duci...D & J.

4. Cumque appellaretur episcopus...D & J.

5. dicebat sese coactum...D & J.

6. per...F & H.

7. huiuscemodi rei...E, F & H.

contra suos comes exarsit, dicens se
 inhonoratum¹ non posse manere in illa
 patria. Itaque profecti ab Iherosolymis Iericho,
 et² acceptis palmis venimus ad Iordanem, et
 sicut praeceperat Petrus Bartholomeus,^a
 facta rate de viminibus, et imposito desuper³
 comite eum transueximus; quippe cum non
 haberemus navem, sic nobis melius fuit visum.⁴
 Post haec convocata multitudo exegimus
 quatinus rogarent Deum pro vita comitis et
 aliorum principum; de nunc indutum tantum camisia⁵

1. inhonoratum esse...C & G.

2. Om. et...F & H.

3. super...A, C, E, F, G & H.

4. visum fuit...D & J.

5. indutum camisia...D & J.
 camisia tantum...A.

 a. vid. sup. pp. 98 et n.a.

et braciis novis sicut nobis praeceptum fuerat
 in eo de baptismo¹ peregrinus. Sed quare
 taliter homo² Dei praeceperit, adhuc
 ignoramus.³

1. Om. in eo de baptismo...D & J.

2. id homo...D.

3. ignoramus. Quaere quae de ista historia desunt.
Quae vero hi secundi non ab historiographico
sed ab alio edita sunt. C - umque.
 The Historia Francorum of ms. D ends at this
 point. The last books of the work are in fact
 taken from the Gesta Francorum, and are given,
 in this edition, in Appendix I, pp.pp.CCXV.
 collated with the ending of the Gesta Francorum
 from the edition of Rosalind Hill.

There would appear to have been a similar
 explicit statement to the one given above in
 Bongars' main manuscript (my "J"): vid. sup.
Critical Introduction, Section I, pp. CXXII-
 CXXIII.

¹hisque peractis, reversi sumus Iherosolyman.
 Eodem tempore² Arnulfus capellanus Normanniae
 comitis a quibusdam in patriarcham eligitur,
 contradicentibus bonis, tum quia non erat sub-
 diaconus, maxime ^{etiam} quia erat de genere sacerdotali,
 et in³ itinere nostro de incontinentia accusabatur,
 adeo ut vulgares cantus de eo inhoneste comp-
 osuissent. Sed ille nec canonum decreta reveritus,
 tanta ambitione tentus, nec generis⁴ nec conscientiae
 infamiam, contra bonos populum concitavit, atque se
 cum hymnis et canticis in sede patriarchali, magno
 populorum plausu elevari fecit. Sed de episcopo
 Nartranensis, qui huiusce rei inceptor⁵ et administrator
 fuerat, vindicta divinitus sumpta non modo Arnulfum

1. Here begins the only remaining fragment of
 J2.: vid. Bongars, p. 180.

2. Eo tempore...F & H.

3. Om. in...C.

4. nec genus...A, C, E, G & J2.

5. rei inceptor...E. inventor
 rei Inceptor...F & H.

non terruit,^a sed in super clericos qui habebant altaria in ecclesia Domini et Sepulcri, vel quibus erant pro custodia mercedes constitutae, privare beneficiis non desinebat. Nactus itaque Arnulfus hanc potestatem, coepit requirere ab incolis civitatis ubi crux erat¹ quam peregrini ante captam Iherusalem adorare consueverant. Quibus negantibus et iuramento et aliis signis se nescire probare volentibus, tandem coacti sunt, et haec dixerunt, "Manifestum est quod Deus vos elegit, et ex omnibus tribulationibus vos eripuit, et hanc civitatem et alias multas vobis tribuit, non in virtutis vestrae robore, sed in furore suo excascans impios, et civitates munitissimas vobis aperuit, et bella formidolosa vobis,² ductor et Dominus vester, pro vobis ipse peregit. Qua itaque, pertinacia

1. ubi erat crux...A, F & H.

2. et formidolosa bella vobis...C.

a. It will be recalled that shortly after the Patriarchal election the Bishop of Martorano was killed by the Sarracens: vid. sup. pp. 352 et n.a.

cum Dominum¹ vobiscum videamus, eius beneficia vobis celabimus?" Post haec deduxerunt eos ad quoddam atrium ecclesiae, et ibi effodientes² reddiderunt. Gavisi sunt itaque omnes nostri, et Deo omnipotenti laudes et gratias referebant,³ qui non solum urbem in qua passus est, sed etiam insignia passionis suae atque victoriae⁴ nobis reddidit, ut tanto eum manibus fidei arctius amplecteremur, quanto certiora nostrae salutis⁵ contueremur.

⁶Dumque⁷ sicut superius diximus, de duce Lotharingiae ordinatum esset, quod civitatem retinere deberet, et comes dolore et iniuria exercebatur, eo quod arcem David, scilicet totius regni Iudaici caput, leviter perdiderat, et ob hoc regredi cum maxima parte nostrae gentis

1. cum Deum...C & G.

2. ubi effodientes...C.

3. referimus...F & H.

4. passionis atque victoriae suae...G.

5. salutis signa...F & H.

6. contueremur. De aliis ordinationibus et corporationibus ipsius civitatis: CXXXVIO.
D - um...E.

7. Dum...E & G.

disponeret. Nunciatum est nobis quod rex Babyloniorum Ascalonam¹ venisset, cum innumerabili paganorum multitudine et, ut nobis relatum est, quod Iherusalem expugnare venerat, et occidere Francos omnes² a viginti annis et supra, et captivare reliquos cum mulieribus daturus viros mulieribus de sua gente, et iuvenibus mulieres, ut Babyloniorum domini deinceps bellicosas familias haberent, de genere Francorum. Sed non his adhuc contentus, similiter Antiochiae et Boamundo facturum se aiebat:³ Damasci etiam, et reliquarum civitatum diadema capiti suo impositurum se dicebat. Nihil Turcos, nihil Francos, Turcorum victores, esse dicebat, considerata multitudine peditum suorum et militum. Sed nec etiam his contentus, in Deum blasphemias interquebat, dicens, "Quod locum Dominicae Nativitatis et

-
1. Ascalona...J2. Ascalonem...C. Ascanlam...E.
 2. omnes Francos...C.
 3. se agebat...G.

et praesepe ubi Dominus reclinatus est, et locum passionis et Golgotha, ubi dicitur quod sanguinis Domini, pendentis in¹ cruce defluxerit, et locum Dominicae sepulturae et alia omnia loca sancta quae in civitate vel iuxta a populo venerantur Christiano, ita deleret, ut etiam a stirpe, a terra abstraheret et comminueret, et post haec pulverem in mari proliceret, ut non esset aliquod memoriale dominicum,² quod Francorum gens³ in regionibus illis ulterius requirerent." Cum autem haec et alia multa et de multitudine gentis quae cum ipso tyranno erat, nobis nuntiarentur, et quod omnes isti congregati erant Ascalonae, quae proxima erat Iherusalem per diem et dimidium, congregati sunt nostri principes et clerus, et nudis⁴ pedibus incedentes, ante sepulcrum Domini cum multis orationibus et

1. pendentis et in...F.

2. aliquod Dominicum memorabile...A, C, E, G & J2.

3. gens Francorum...F & H.

4. et Dominus, nudis...H.

lacrymis, misericordiam a Domino deprecabantur, ut populum suum modo liberaret, quem hacentus, victorem de omnibus fecerat, et qui locum sanctificationis suae modo¹ mundaverat, ulterius contaminari propter nomen suum non pateretur. Post haec similiter nudis pedibus incedentes in psalmis et hymnis et sanctorum praesidiis misericordiam Dei appellantes, ad templum Domini venimus. Ibique² animo et corpore³ ante Deum⁴ effusi,⁵ ut benedictionis suae ibidem effusae recordaretur. Si peccaverit in te populus tuus, et conversus egerit poenitentiam, veniens que oraverit in loco isto, tu exaudies de coelo, Domine, et libera eum de manibus inimicorum suorum.^a Post haec percepta

1. Om. modo...C, E & J2.

2. Ibi...G.

3. et corde...E.

4. Om. Deum...A & J2.

5. fusi...F & H.

a. III Reg. VIII, 46-50.
II Par. VI, 36-40.

benedictione ab episcopis, statuerunt principes de belli administratione, et de custodia civitatis. Profectus est itaque dux et milites eius ut certissimum comprobarent si de Ammiravis ita res se haberet¹ ut fama ferebatur; qui, cum ad campestria Ramularum pervenisset, causam negotii per episcopum Martranensem Iherosolymis remisit ad comites.² Illi autem certificati de bello,, communem pugnandi causam apud omnes fortes qui³ in civitate remanserant, detulerunt. Itaque supplicantes Deo et acceptis armis, et Dominicam lanceam, profecti sumus ab Iherosolymis, et venimus ad campestria die illa. Altera autem die coniuncto exercitu, per turnas, dispositis praesidiis ab omni parte, procedebamus. In vespere vero cum venissemus prope fluvium qui est in itinere euntibus ab Iherusalem Ascalonam, pascebant ibi Arabes greges ovium, et armenta

1. ita se res haberet...A, F & H.

2. comites. De bello quod fuit contra Ascanlonitani
Capitulo XXXVII. I - lli...E.

3. Illi communem causam de bellandi suis pugnandi quid fortes qui...E.

bovum innumerabilia, et sine numero camelos.
 Cum vidissent autem nostri hanc multitudinem
 et hominum et animalium, existimantes bellum
 esse, arreptis armis miserunt¹ ad prospiciendum
 milites usque ducentos; ceteri vero armati, ut
 diximus, in novem turmis incedebant. Erant autem
 tres a tergo, tres a fronte, tres in medio, sic
 ordinatae ut, undecumque bellum se emerget, in
 tribus ordinibus illis occurreretur, turma
 media manente cunctis² ad praesidium. Videntes
 autem pastores Arabum nostros praemissos milites,
 animalia deserverunt. Et tamen³ si aequo
 modo ad illos ut ad nos respiceret Deus, pugnam
 cum omnibus nobis inire debuissent. Erant in
 armis de pastoribus circiter tria millia; in
 exercitu vero nostro supra mille ducentos
 dubitanter⁴ adscribimus, sed et peditum
 multitudinem ultra novem millia producere non

1. Om. miserunt...C, E, G & J2.

2. Om. cunctis...A.

3. Et tam...J2.

4. supra mille milites ducentos dubitanter...A.
 supra mille ducentos milites dubitater...F & H.

audemus. Effugatis itaque pastoribus, cepimus
 praedam quantam ante diem illam non vidimus,
 et aliqui de pastoribus interfecti sunt, et
 pauci capti. Post haec autem mansimus in
 eodem loco, quia vesper erat. Et tunc
 coegimus captivos ad consitendum¹ hostium²
 voluntatem, et habitudinem et numerum. Con-
 fessi sunt itaque quod voluntas eorum erat obsidere
 Iherusalem³ et expugnare omnes Francos et
 interficere⁴ et captivare, et addunt quod
 Ammiravis ibi prope quinque leugis erat in
 castris postridie profecturus adversum nos.
 De numero autem vix aliquis certus erat, quia
 cotidie multiplicabantur. De se vero et de
 sociis qui essent, interrogati, dixerunt quod
 pastores essent animalium, quae dividenda
 erant in stipendiis per exercitum Babylon-
 iorum. Certi itaque⁵ de bello nostri⁶ et alacres

1. Om. consitendum...A.

2. Om. hostium...C.

3. quod obsidere Iherusalem voluntas eorum erat
 et...G.

4. Francos interficere...F & H.

5. Certi itaque: here ends ms. "H": its last
 folios are missing.

6. itaque nostri de bello...J2.

sociis suis noxarum causas atque controversias remittebant. Post haec,¹ confessi de peccatis et de² negligentis suis, adeo erecti sunt animis, ut vix credibile eis fieret hostes ad pugnam esse paratos. Innascebatur enim tanta securitas in cordibus singulorum, ut crederent suos hostes cervis timidiores, et ovibus innocentiores. Sed haec securitas ideo nobis erat, quia credebamus Dominum³ nobiscum esse, sicut et in reliquis negotiis,⁴ et propter blasphemias sibi illatas, agere propter seipsum, si etiam causa nostra invalida fuisset. Unde in nostra parte defensorem et in sua adiutores illi esse voluimus. Deinde conclamatum est per exercitum ut mane ad pugnam omnes parati essent,⁵ et quisque principibus de sua gente coniungeretur,⁶

1. haec autem...C.

2. Om. de...C.

3. Deum...F & G.

4. esse sicut in reliquis et negotiis...G.

5. mane omnes ad pugnam parati essent...A & F.

6. gente adiutorem...F.

et nemo praedam tangeret, et excommunicati sunt quicumque eam tangeret nisi prius bello confecto. Mansimus ea nocte satis pauperrime; etenim tentoria non habebamus, panem pauci, vinum nullus, annonam atque¹ salem paucissimi; sed copia carnis erat quasi arena; sed vescebamur carnibus, et pro pane, ovium caro erat. Et iam aurora sequentis diei oriebatur,^a et pervigil turba, tubis et cornibus in pugnam animabantur. Itaque summo diluculo profecti, dispositis, ut iam diximus, ab omni parte praesidiis, exercitum Dei in castra Mahumeth dirigebamur. At vero hostes infra castra sua demorabantur, nunquam existimantes quod infra moenia ad adventum eorum vix contineremur. Etenim cum audissent de nece et fuga pastorum, dicebant, "Propter praedam venerunt Franci, et cum ea revertuntur. "Quippe edocebantur cotidie ab his qui fugerant ab Iherosolymis, et de

1. et...A.

a. The battle of Ascalon was fought on August 12th 1099.

paucitate nostra, ac debilitate vulgi et equorum Praeterea numero atque viribus suis confisi in solis sputis nos et castra nostra submergere se posse credebant. Constellatores¹ etiam eorum, et augeres, ut fertur, dixerant ut non moverent castella sua usque ad septimam feriam neque pugnarent adversum nos; quod si maturius aliquid de his agere vellent² in adversum converteretur.³ Nos autem ut diximus, ordinati in novem turmis progrediebamur.

Multiplicavit Deus exercitum suum, adeo ut inferiores numero hostibus non videbamur. Etenim coniunxerant se nobis animalia quae dimiseramus, et factis gregibus nemine compellente, nos comitebantur, adeo ut starent cum stantibus, cum currentibus currerent, cum praecedentibus praecederent.

1. Cantellatores...J2.

2. agerent vellent...H.

3. adversum nos converteretur...C.

Haec autem pretiosarum inaeestimabilis
 multitudo erat. Armorum autem atque papilionum
 summam quis dinumerare sufficiat? Videntes
 igitur hostes nostri, et suorum caecam
 multitudinem, et nostros in castris suis, et¹
 pro victoria et spoliis secure et alacriter
 agere, reversi ad se dixerunt, "Solum praesidium
 fuga est, et quid moramur? Si hodie defatigati
 ex itinere, fame et siti pene semimortui, omnes
 nostram multitudinem uno impetu prostraverunt,
 quid repausati atque² refecti et victores contra
 semineces et imminutos atque pavidos facient?"
 Itaque hostes, conturbatis animis reversi sunt
 Ascalonam, quae per³ milliarium⁴ a castris nostris

1. Om. et...C.

2. et...A, F, H & J2.

3. Om. per...J2.

4. per familiarum...C.

aberat, sed non omnes.¹

Tunc placuit comiti Raymundo ut mitteret Boamundum, quemdam Turcum genere, ad Anniravis sub² obtentu ineundae amicitiae, accusando eum quod noluerit liberam reddere Iherusalem, et quod³ adversum nos arma detulerat; simul ut praesentiret⁴ fugam an bellum in animo pararet, et quomodo victum se haberet.⁵

-
1. sed non omnes. This ends the section of ms. "E" of Raymond of Aguilers. The ms. ends:

De dicto bello; Capitulo XXXVIII^o
Quomodo Boamundus et Balduinus Edessensis venerunt
Iherusalem post captionem civitatis cum magno
exercitu; Capitulo XXXIX.
Rex Godfredus moritur et Balduinus eligitur;
Cap. XL vid. Fulcheri Carnotensis op. cit.
 (ed. Hagenmeyer) Lib. I, cap. XXXI - Lib. II,
 cap. I: pp. 311-357.

2. Om. sub...J2.
 3. et qui...J2.
 4. praesentiret...J2 & G.
 5. victum se haberet. Here ends J2. (vid. Bongars, p. 181.)

erat autem hic Boamundus de genere Turcus,
 pluribus edoctus linguis, ingeniosus multum
 et callidus, et nobis fidelissimus. Sed quia
 Boamundus magnus¹ suscepit eum de fonte
 baptismatis, (nam venerat ad nos cum uxore
 sua et armis) Boamundus vocabatur.²

1. magnus Boamundus...F.

2. Here ends the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers:
 ms. "F" adds the rubric:

Explicit liber Raimundi d'Aguilers
feliciter.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

Parallel Texts of the ending of the Gesta Francorum
and Collation of Manuscripts "D" (Bib. nat. Lat. 5511A)
and "J" (Bongars).

APPENDIX I

The ending of the Gesta Francorum and that of a collation of manuscripts D (Bib.nat.lat. 5511A) and J (Bongars edition) in parallel texts.

The Gesta Francorum, from the edition of Rosalind Hill, (London, 1962) Lib.X, xxxix, pp. 93 - 97.

A collation of D and J.

(Rubric: Quere quae de ista ystoria degunt. Quae vero hi secundi non ab ystoriographice sed ab alio edita sunt)¹

Interea nuntius venit Tancredo et Comiti Eustachio, ut prepararent se et pergerent ad recipiendam Neapolitanam urbem.^a Exierunt illi et duxerunt secum multos milites et pedones, et pervenerunt ad urbem. Habitores vero illius reddiderunt se illico. Denique mandavit illis dux, ut cito venirent ad bellum quod nobis amiratus Babyloniae preparat urbi Scaloniae.^b

²Interea nuntius venit Tancredo et comiti Eustachio, ut praepararent se et pergerent ad recipiendam urbem Neap^olin.^a At illi exierunt, et duxerunt secum multos milites et pedones, et pervenerunt ad urbem. Habitores vero illius reddiderunt se illico. Post haec mandavit illis dux Godfredus, qui et rex Iherusalem, ut cito venirent ad bellum quod amiratus Babyloniae praeparaverat eis Ascaloniae.^b

1. Om. J. vid .sup. pp. 357, v.3.

2. In Margin of D; de bello cum Ammirarum Babiloniorum.

a. The biblical Sichen: Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib.X, xxxix, pp. 93, n.3

b. This was the army of the Egyptians under the command of al-Afdal; ibid. n.4.

Illi autem festinando intraverunt montaneam quaerentes Saracenorum bella, et venerunt Caesaream. Itaque venientes illi iuxta mare ad urbem Ramole, illic invenerunt multos Arabes qui precursores erant belli. Quos nostri persequentes, apprehenderunt plures ex eis, qui dixerunt omnia belli nova, ubi essent et quot essent, aut ubi bellare disponerent contra Christianos. Quod audiens, Tancredus statim misit nuntium Hierusalem duci Godefrido et patriarchae, omnibusque principibus, dicens: 'Sciatis quod nobis paratum est bellum Scaloniae, venite ergo festinanter cum omni virtute quam habere poteritis!' Tunc iussit dux summoneri omnes, ut fideliter irent preparati Scalonam, obviam inimicis nostris. Ipse vero cum patriarcha et Roberto Flandrensi comite exivit de urbe in feria tertia^a, et Marturanensis episcopus^b cum eis. Comes vero Sancti Egidii ac Robertus Nortmannus dixerunt se non exituros, nisi certum

Illi autem festinando intraverunt montanam, quaerentes Sarracenorum bella, et venerunt Caesaream. Venientes quoque iuxta mare ad urbem Ramore, illic invenerunt multos Arabes qui precursores erant belli. Quos nostri persequentes apprehenderunt plures ex eis, qui dixerunt omnia belli nova: ubi essent, et quot, aut ubi bellare disponerent contra Christianos. Quod audiens, Tancredus, statim misit nuntium Iherusalem duci Godefrido, et patriarchae, omnibusque principibus, dicens: 'Sciatis quod nobis paratum est bellum Ascaloniae ab ammirate. Igitur venite festinanter cum omni virtute quam habere poteritis!'

Tunc iussit dux commoneri Ascalonam obviam inimicis nostris. Ipse vero, cum patriarcha et Roberto Flandrensi comite, exivit de urbe in feria tertia^a, et Marturanensis Episcopus^b cum eis. Tum vero Sancti Aegidii comes¹, ac Robertus Normannus, dixerunt se non exituros nisi certum

1. Comes vero Sancti Aegidii....: D.

a. 9th, August, 1099.

b. vid. sup. pp. 352, n.a.

bellum scirent. Iusserunt ergo militibus suis, ut pergerent videre si bellum vere esset; et reverterentur quantocius, qui ipsi mox essent parati ire. Ierunt illi, videruntque bellum, et cito renuntiaverunt se vidisse oculis suis. Continuo dux apprehenso Marturanensi episcopo, mandavit Hierusalem, quo milites qui ibi erant prepararent se et veniant ad bellum.

Quarta vero feria, illi principes exierunt, et militaverunt ad bellum. Episcopus vero Marturanensis rediit, reportans verba missae patriarchae et duci, exieruntque Saraceni obviam ei, et apprehensum secum duxerunt.^a Petrus vero Heremita remansit Hierusalem, ordinando et precipiendo Graecis et Latinis atque clericis, ut fideliter Deo processionem celebrarent, et orationes eleemosynasque facerent, ut Deus populo suo victoriam daret. Clerici et presbyteri, induti sacris vestibus ad Templum Domini^b conduxere processionem, missas et orationes ~~celebrabant~~, ut eum defenderet decantantes

bellum scirent. Iusserent ergo militibus suis ut pergerent videre si bellum vere esset, et reverterentur quantocius, quia ipsi mox essent parati venire. Ierunt illi, videruntque bellum paratum, et cito renuntiaverunt se vidisse oculis suis. Continuo dux, apprehenso Marturanensi episcopo, mandavit in Hierusalem quod milites qui ibi erant praepararent se, et venirent ad bellum. Episcopus vero Marturanensis rediit, reportans verba missae patriarchae et duci; exieruntque Saraceni obviam ei, et apprehensum secum duxerunt.^a Petrus vero Heremita remansit in Hierusalem, ordinando et precipiendo Graecis et latinis, ac clericis, ut fideliter Deo processionem celebrarent, et eleemosynas orationesque facerent, ut Deus populo suo victoriam daret.

Clerici et presbyteri, induti sacris vestibus, ad templum Domini^b conduxerunt processionem, missas et orationes celebrabant, ut Deus eum defenderet.

a. His fate is unknown.

b. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

suam, comes
Eustachius^a suam, Tancredus et Gaston^b
suam. Ordinaverunt quoque pedites et
sagittarios qui precederent milites; et
sic ordinaverunt omnia, statimque coop-
erunt militare in nomine domini Iesu
Christi. In sinistra vero parte fuit
dux Godefridus cum sua acie; comesque
Sancti Egidii equitavit iuxta mare in
dextera parte, comes Nortmanniae et
comes Flandrensis et Tancredus omnes-
que alii equitabant in medio. Tunc
nostri coeperunt paulatim ambulare.
Pagani vero stabant parati ad bellum.
Unusquisque suum habebat vasculum
pendens collo, ex quibus petarent
persequentes nos; sed illis non licuit
gratia Dei.

Comes autem de Nortmannia
cernens ammiravisse stantarum habere
quoddam pomum aureum in summitate
hastae, quae erat cooperta argente, ruit
vehementer super illum, eumque vulner-
avit usque ad mortem.

suam, comes Eustachius^a suam, Tancredus
et Gaston^b suam. Ordinaverunt quoque
pedites et sagittarios, qui praec-
ederent milites; et sic ordinaver-
unt omnia. Statimque praeliari
coeperunt in nomine Domini Iesu
Christi. In sinistra parte fuit dux
Godefridus cum sua acie, comes Sancti
Aegidii iuxta mare in dextra parte;
comes Normannus, comes quoque Fland-
rensis et Tancredus, omnesque alii
equitabant in medio. Tunc nostri
coeperunt paulatim ambulare; pagani
vero stabant parati ad bellum.
Unusquisque suum habebat vasculum
pendens collo, ex quibus petarent
persequentes nos; sed illis non licuit,
gratia Dei. Comes autem Normannus,
cernens ammirati stantarum habentem
quoddam pomum aureum in summitate
hastae, quae erat cooperta argente,
irruit vehementer super illum,
eumque vulneravit usque ad mortem.

-
- a. Eustace III, Count of Boulogne, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon; Runciman,
op.cit. Bk. II, Chap.III, pp.112. He is never mentioned by Raymond of
Aguilers.
- b. Gaston of Béarn: vid. sup. pp. 331. n.a.

Ex alia parte, comes Flandrensis nimis acriter illos invasit. Tancredus igitur impetum fecit per medium tentori^{um} eorum. Quod videntes pagani, continuo inierunt fugam. Paganorum multitudo erat innumerabilis, numerumque eorum nemo scit nisi solus Deus. Bella vero erant immensa; sed virtus divina comitabatur nobiscum tam magna, tam fortis, quod statim superavimus illos. Stabant autem inimici Dei excecati et stupefacti, ac videntes Christi milites apertis oculis nil videbant et contra Christianos erigere se non audebant, virtute Dei tremefacti. Pro nimio timore ascendebant in arbores, in quibus putabant se abscondere; at nostri sagittando et cum lanceis et ensibus occidendo eos ad terram precipitabant. Alii autem iactabant se in terram, non audentes erigere se contra nos. Nostri igitur illos detruncabant sicut aliquis detruncat animalia ad macellum. Comes Sancti

Ex alia parte comes Flandrensis nimis acriter eos invasit. Tancredus igitur impetum fecit per medium tentoriorum eorum. Quod videntes pagani continuo arripuerunt fugam. Paganorum autem multitudo erat innumerabilis, numerumque eorum¹ nemo scit, nisi solus Deus. Bella vero erant immensa, sed virtus divina comitabatur nobiscum, tam magna, tam fortis, quod statim superavimus illos. Stabant vero inimici Dei excecati et stupefacti, ac videntes Christi milites, apertis oculis nihil videbant; et contra Christianos erigere se non audebant, virtute Dei tremefacti. Pro nimio namque timore ascendebant in arbores, in quibus putabant se effugere, vel abscondere. At nostri sagittando, et cum lanceis et ensibus occidendo, eos ad terram praecipitabant. Alii iactabant se in terram, non audentes se erigere contra nos. Nostri igitur illos detruncabant, sicut aliquis detruncat animalia ad macellum. Comes vero Sancti

1. Om. eorum. D.

Egidii iuxta mare occidit ex eis sine numero. Alii vero se precipitabant in mare, alii fugiebant huc illucque.

Veniens itaque ammiratus ante civitatem^a, dolens et maerens, lacrimando dixit: 'O deorum spiritus, quis unquam vidit vel audivit talia? Tanta potestas, tanta virtus, tanta militia quae nunquam ab ulla gente fuit superata, modo a tantilla gente Christianorum est devicta! Heu mihi tristis ac dolens, quid amplius dicam? Superatus sum a gente mendica, inermi et pauperrima; quae non habet nisi saccum et peram. Ipsa modo persequitur gentem Aegyptiacam, quae illi plerumque suas largita est elemosinas, dum olim per omnem nostram patriam mendicarent. Huc conduxī ad conventionem ducenta milia militum, et video ipsos laxis frenis fugientes per viam Babylonicam, et non audent reverti et adversus gentem Francigenam. Iuro per Machumet et per omnia deorum

Aegidii iuxta mare occidit ex eis sine numero. Alii vero se praecipitabant in mare. alii fugiebant huc illucque.

Veniens itaque ammiratus Babyloniae ante Ascalon civitatem, dolens et moerens, lacrimando dixit: 'O deorum spiritus, quis unquam vidit vel audivit talia? Tanta potestas, tanta virtus, tanta militia, quae nunquam ab ulla gente fuit superata, modo a tantilla gente Christianorum est devicta. Heu mihi! tristis ac dolens quid amplius dicam? Superatus sum a gente mendica, inermi et pauperrima, quae non habet nisi saccum et peram. Ipsa modo persequitur et occidit gentem Aegyptiacam, quae illi plerumque suas largita est elemosynas, dum olim per omnem nostram patriam mendicaret. Huc conduxī ad communionem ducenta milia militum, et video illos laxis frenis fugientes per viam Babylonicam, et non audent reverti adversus gentem Francigenam. Iuro per Mahumeth et per omnia deorum

numina, quod ulterius non retinebo milites concentione aliqua, quia expulsus sum a gente aduena. Conduxi omnia armorum genera, et omnia machinamenta ut eos obsiderem in Hierusalem, et ipsi prevenerunt me ad bellum itinere dierum duorum. Heu michi, quid amplius dicam? Inhonoratus ero semper in terra Babilonica.'

Nostri autem acceperunt eius stantarum, quod comparavit comes de Nortmannia viginti marchas argenti, et dedit patriarchae in Dei honorem Sanctique Sepulchri. Ensem vero emit quidam sexaginta bisanteis. Superati sunt itaque inimici nostri Deo annuente. Omnes naves terrarum paganorum ibi aderant. Homines vero qui intus erant, videntes ammiravissimum fugientem cum suo exercitu, statim suspenderunt vela, et impulerunt se in alta maria. Reversi sunt nostri ad tentoria eorum, acceperuntque innumera spolia auri, argenti, omniumque bonorum; omniumque animalium genera, ac omnium

numina, quod ultra non retinebo milites conventione aliqua, quia expulsus sum a gente aliena et advena. Conduxi omnia armorum genera, et omnia mach^{na}amenta, ut eos obsiderem in Iherusalem, et ipsi praevennerunt me ad bellum itinere duorum dierum. Heu mihi! quid amplius dicam? Inhonoratus ero semper in terra Babylonica.'

Nostri autem acceperunt stantarum, quod comparavit comes de Normannia viginti marchas argenti, et dedit illud patriarchae in Dei honorem sanctique Sepulcri. Ensem vero emit quidam sexaginta bisanteis. Superati sunt inimici nostri a nobis, Deo annuente. Omnes naves paganorum ibi aderant. Homines vero qui intus erant, videntes ammiratum fugientem cum suo exercitu statim suspenderunt vela, et impulerunt se in alta maria.

Reversi sunt itaque nostri ad eorum tentoria, acceperuntque innumera spolia, aurum, argentumque multum, omniumque animalium genera, et omnium

armorum instrumenta. Quae voluerunt
asportarunt, reliqua igne consumpserunt.

Reversi sunt nostri cum gaudio
Hierusalem, deferentes secum omnia bona,
quae illis erant necessaria. Hoc bellum
actum est pridie idus Augusti, largiente
haec domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui
est honor at gloria nunc et semper et
in secula seculorum. Dicat omnis
spiritus : AMEN.

armorum instrumenta; quae voluerunt
asportaverunt, reliqua igni
consumpserunt. Reversi sunt ergo
cum gaudio magno Iherusalem,
deferentes secum omnia^{bona} quae illis
erant necessaria. Hoc bellum actum
est pridie idus Augusti, largiente
Domino nostro Iesu Christo fidelibus
suis victoriam, qui cum Patre et
Spiritu Sancto vivat et regnat Deus
per infinita saecula saeculorum.
AMEN.

APPENDIX II.

The use of the 'Gesta Francorum et aliorum
Hierosolimitanorum' by Raymond of Aguilers.

Raymond of Aguilers was, as is quite clear from his Historia, an eyewitness of the events of the First Crusade. However, certain passages in his work seem to indicate that Raymond was acquainted with, and used, the Gesta francorum. Chronologically this is certainly possible, although the evidence is inconclusive. The latest study of the Gesta suggests that the author finished his work at Jerusalem,¹ and it is known that Ekkhard of Aura, who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1101, found there a 'little book' upon which he appears to have based his own chronicle, and which probably was a copy of the Gesta.² Equally, however, the Historia Francorum was written very shortly after the fall of Jerusalem.³ The first reference we have to the work is in the use made of it by Fulcher of Chartres, writing between 1102 and 1106,⁴ so the two works seem to have appeared almost simultaneously.

Von Sybel suggested very strongly that Raymond of Aguilers made use of the Gesta: Raimund habe etwa die Gesta vor sich, nur zu deren Ergänzung geschrieben,⁵ but it was not until 1890, when Hagenmeyer produced the first scholarly edition of the

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1. Gesta Francorum etc. (ed. Hill), Introduction, p. ix.
 2. Ekkhard of Aura, Hierosolymitana, in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol.V, p. 21: et Gesta, loc. cit.
 3. vid. sup. Chap.II, pp.CXXXVIII - CXXXIX.
 4. vid.inf.Appendix III, p.CCXLIV.
 5. H. von Sybel, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Düsseldorf 1814), p. 18.

Gesta Francorum,¹ that a detailed study of the relationship between the two texts was undertaken.

Hagenmeyer produced a kind of concordance: passages of the Historia Francorum were printed alongside those passages of the Gesta upon which, in Hagenmeyer's estimation, they were based.² Klein, basing his work upon that of Hagenmeyer, although cautious enough to point out that Hagenmeyer's work did not establish any precedence of the Gesta Francorum over Raymond's work,³ developed Hagenmeyer's thesis, and came to exactly the same conclusions about the same passages.⁴ In the opinion of the present writer the conclusions of both Hagenmeyer and Klein, although arrived at by close textual comparison, are, textually, highly tenuous in most cases.⁵ However their conclusions must be admitted in certain cases.

Hagenmeyer practically regarded it as self-evident that Raymond's account of the negotiations between the Count of Toulouse and the Emperor Alexius was based upon that of the Anonymous author of the Gesta.⁶ Klein gives a rather more detailed analysis, and concludes that Raymond incorporated

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1. Anonymi Gesta Francorum, (ed. Hagenmeyer), (Heidelberg 1890).
 2. *ibid.*, Einleitung, pp. 48-58.
 3. Klein, *op. cit.* Chap. III, p. 103.
 4. *ibid.* Chap. III, pp. 96-136.
 5. Miss Hill remarks in her introduction, when dealing with the suggested use of the Gesta Francorum by both Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers: 'Hagenmeyer attempts to press the similarities rather too far.' Gesta Francorum, (ed. Hill), pp. x-xi.
 6. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* Einleitung, p. 49.

this passage from the Gesta because it accorded with his own anti-Byzantine prejudice.¹ A detailed comparison of the two texts indicates a very close relationship indeed between them at this point:

Raymond of Aguilers.²

Gesta Francorum³

Honorificentissime itaque ab imperatore et principibus suis suscepto comite, postulat imperator a comite hominum et iuramenta, quae caeteri principes ei fecerant.

Comes autem Sancti Egidii erat hospitatus extra civitatem in burgo, gensque sua remanserat retro. Mandavit itaque imperator comiti, ut faceret ei hominum et fiduciam sicut alii fecerant.

Respondit comes ideo se non venisse, ut dominum alium faceret, aut alii militaret, nisi illi propter quem patriam et bona patriae suae dimiserat. Et tamen fore si imperator cum exercitu iret Iherosolimam, quod se et suos et sua omnia illi committeret. Sed imperator excusavit iter dicens praemetuere se Alemannos

1. Klein, op. cit., pp. 103 et seq. For Raymond's anti-Byzantine prejudice; vid. sup. Chap. I, Section IV, p. XCIV.

2. vid. sup. pp. 16-18.

3. From the Gesta Francorum, (ed. Hill), Lib. II, vi, p. 13.

et Ungaros et Comanos,
aliasque feras gentes, quae
imperium suum depopularentur,
si ipse transitum cum
peregrinis faceret. Interea
comes audita morte suorum et
fuga, se proditum esse
credidit, et imperatorem per
quosdam principes de nostro
exercitu, factae prodicionis
commonefecit. At Alexius
dicit se nesciasse nostros
depopulatos esse regnum suum;
se et suos multas passum esse
iniurias. Nihil esse quod
comes quaerebatur, nisi quod
dum exercitus comitis solito
more villas et castra
vastaret, exercitu suo
conspecto, fugam arripuerit;
tamen pollicetur se satis-
facturum comiti, atque
Boamundum obsidem satisfactionis
dedit. Ad iudicium veniunt:
cogitur comes, praeter ius,
absolvere obsidem.

Interea exercitus noster
Constantinopolim venit, et

post haec episcopus
 consecutus est nos cum
 fratre suo, quem infirmum
 dimiserat Dirachii. Mandat
 et remandat Alexius
 pollicetur se multa daturum
 comiti, si quaesitum
 hominum sibi faceret, quod
 et alii principes fecerant.
 Meditabatur^{autem} assidue comes,
 qualiter iniuriam vindicaret,
 et tantae infamiae deducus a
 se suisque depelleret. Sed
 dux Lot^haringiae, et
 Flandrensis comes, atque
 alii principes huiusmodi
 detestabantur dicentes:
 "Stultissimum esse contra
 christianos pugnare, cum
 Turci imminerent."
 Boamundus vero se adiutorem
 imperatoris pollicetur, si
 quicquam comes contra ipsum
 moliretur, vel si hominum
 vel iuramenta diutius
 excusaret, Consilio itaque
 accepto a suis, comes Alexio
 vitam et honorem iuravit, quod

Et dum imperator haec mandabat,
 comes meditabatur qualiter
 vindictam de imperatoris exercitu
 habere posset. Sed dux Godefridus
 et Robertus comes Flandrensis
 aliqui principes dixerunt ei
 iniustum fore, contra christianos
 pugnare. Vir quoque sapiens
 Boamundus dixit, quia si aliquid
 iniustum imperatori faceret, et
 fiduciam ei facere prohiberet,
 ipse ex imperatoris parte fieret.
 Igitur comes accepto consilio a
 suis, Alexio vitam et honorem
 iuravit, quod

nec per se nec per alium ei nec per se nec per alium ei
 auferret. Cumque de hominio auferre consentiat, cumque de
 appellaretur, respondit non hominio appellaretur, non
 se pro capitis sui periculo se pro capitis periculo id
 id facturum. Quapropter facturum. Tunc gens Boamundi
 pauca largitatus est ei appropinquavit Constantinopoli.
 imperator.

The similarities at this point are so obvious and so strong as to argue that Raymond must have been using the Gesta to supplement either his own memory or his journey notes. Sir Steven Runciman has remarked of the Historia Francorum: ...some early manuscripts contain interpolations.¹ Unfortunately he does not specify what he regards as interpolations, but clearly it is not here the case that a section of the Gesta has been interpolated into the Historia Francorum. Material from the Gesta has been used in conjunction with other information of a kind which is characteristically Raymond's own. The cool irony of Alexis's words, when challenged by the Count, has the ring of undoubted authenticity. However, it is quite clear that at this point Raymond made use of the Gesta Francorum.

Neither Hagenmeyer nor Klein make any comment on the passage in the Historia Francorum in which Raymond describes the destruction of the People's Crusade.² It is quite evident in the context that this passage was put in by Raymond as a stick with

1. Runciman, op. cit., vol. I (The First Crusade), Appendix I, 2, p. 329.

2. vid. sup. p. 23.

which to beat the Emperor. It has the air almost of an accidental inclusion, but not of an interpolation, for its inclusion is entirely characteristic of Raymond's bitter anti-Byzantine prejudice,¹ and there is no textual evidence for its being an interpolation. It is at least likely, however, that this passage reflects Raymond's knowledge of the Gesta Francorum. The actual substance of the passage could well be a condensation of the very much longer description found in the Gesta Francorum, of the progress of the ill-fated People's Crusade.² At one point Raymond seems to reflect the wording of the Gesta:

<u>Historia Francorum</u>	/	<u>Gesta</u>
<u>...et captivos ad nobiles suae /</u>		<u>...disperserunt illos (captivos)</u>
<u>gentis³ et Sarracenorum mittabant /</u>		<u>universas regiones has, ^{per} alios in</u>
<u>longe ea mittebant..</u> ³		<u>Corosanum, alios in Persidem.</u> ⁴

For the rest, both Klein and Hagenmeyer list a number of short passages which they believe that Raymond took from the Gesta Francorum. To isolate small passages in this way in a chronicle such as Raymond's, and label them 'derived from' appears to be a highly difficult process. With regard to Peter Tudebode's use of the Historia Francorum the difficulties of isolating borrowings in a writer who was himself an eyewitness can be very clearly seen,⁵ and these same difficulties must be

1. vid. sup. Chap. I, Section IV, p. XCIV.

2. Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. I, 11, pp. 2-5.

3. vid. sup. p. 23.

4. Gesta, Lib. I, 11, p. 5.

5. vid. inf. Appendix III, p. CCXLV.

must be considered equally strongly in this case. None of the suggestions of Klein and Hagenmeyer appear, under textual analysis, to be conclusively provable. Klein suggests that Raymond was chiefly concerned in his work with the defence of the Provençals and the Holy Lance, deriving his outline and much of his content from the Gesta. This is simply not tenable. Even on Klein's showing there is not enough of the Gesta to be found in the Historia Francorum to support the contention, while there does not really appear to be more of a similarity of outline between the two works than one would expect, given that both writers were describing the same events.

With regard to passages of the Historia Francorum which seem reminiscent of the Gesta, if they are isolated it would seem to be common sense, in the words of Miss Hill, that: after all, there are only a limited number of words which can be used to describe the same event.¹ The proviso is important: nothing conclusive can really be said about short passages in isolation; a number of them occurring together, however, present a totally different case.

Other objections apply to certain of the passages isolated by Klein and Hagenmeyer. Both of them remark on the fact that Raymond and the Anonymous end the passage describing the battle with Kerbogah with a doxology:

1. Gesta (ed. Hill) Introduction, p. xi.

<u>Raymond of Aguilera</u>	<u>Gesta.</u>
<u>Facta sunt autem haec in</u>	<u>Hoc bellum factum est in IV kal.</u>
<u>vigilia apostolorum Petri et</u>	<u>Iulii, 1a vigilia apostolorum Petri</u>
<u>Pauli, quibus intercessoribus</u>	<u>et Pauli, regnante domino nostro</u>
<u>Jesus Christus Dominus noster</u>	<u>Iesu Christo, cui est honor et</u>
<u>contulit hanc victoriam</u>	<u>gloria in sempiterna saecula.</u>
<u>peregrinae ecclesiae francorum</u>	<u>Amen.¹</u>
<u>qui vivit et manet cum servis</u>	
<u>suis, propitius dominus, per cuncta</u>	
<u>secula saeculorum. Amen.¹</u>	

There is, however, little need to see borrowing here. This is the only point at which Raymond uses a doxology, but it occurs at the end of a passage which describes what for him was in many ways the climax of the crusade; the delivery of the army through the will of God made manifest in the gift of the Holy Lance.²

A doxology is perfectly in order here. It is equally true that Raymond rarely dates events as well as this, but the great victory occurred on the eve of a feast particularly significant for the Latins, and, again, Raymond had the habit of dating events connected with the Holy Lance.³ Too often the passages isolated by Hagenmeyer and Klein are explainable in such totally different terms that proof of a real textual dependence can hardly be said to be established. Essentially implication is the sole basis for the suggestion that these passages are taken from the Gesta; once having decided that the account of the Count's negotiations

1. Hagenmeyer, op. cit., p. 54 et Klein, op. cit., Chap. III, p. 102. Vid. sup. p. 133 : Gesta (ed. Hill) Lib. IX, xxix, p. 71.

2. vid. sup. Chap. I, Section III, p. XXII.

3. vid. sup. Chap. I, Section IV, p. XCII.

with Alexius were definitely taken from the Gesta, it is tempting to explain any other similarities in the same way.

The implication of Klein and Hagenmeyer's suggestions, that Raymond was throughout his work in some respects dependent upon the Gesta cannot be sustained by the evidence they have amassed. The passages they put forward are too short, and the similarities often too far forced to support such a hypothesis. What neither appears to have realized is that Raymond, in one limited section of his work, really did depend quite heavily upon the Gesta. That Raymond incorporated a section of the Gesta into his account of the negotiations between the Emperor and the Count is accepted.¹ It has further been suggested that Raymond's account of the People's Crusade is based upon that of the Gesta.² It is possible, in addition, that in this early section of his work Raymond made even more use of the Gesta. Hagenmeyer points to closely similar passages in the description of the siege of Nicaea concerning the activities of the Count and the Bishop of Le Puy:

<u>Gesta</u>	/	<u>Historia Francorum</u>
<u>Nocte vero illa surrexerunt</u>	/	<u>Itaque capta esset civitas nisi noctis</u>
<u>festinanter Turci et restaur</u>	/	<u>tenebrae obstitissent. Instauratus est</u>
<u>-averunt murum tam fortiter,</u>		<u>autem murus per noctem et laborem</u>
<u>ut</u>	/	
<u>veniente die nemo posset eos</u>	/	<u>priusquam nobis mane reddidit.</u> ³
<u>laedere ex illa parte.</u> ³		

1. vid. sup. pp. CCXXVII - CCXXXI.

2. vid. sup. pp. CCXXXI - CCXXXII.

3. Hagenmeyer, op. cit., p. 50. Vid. sup. p. 21-22 : Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. II viii, p. 15.

It must be noted that this passage does not occur in isolation, but in a section of the work in which the Gesta is known to have been used by Raymond. Further it is not impossible that Raymond's account of the battle against the relief army approaching Nicaea¹ owes something to the Anonymous's account,² and again the description in the Historia Francorum of the battle of Dorylaeum and the events leading up to it³ could well be based on the account found in the Gesta.⁴ Neither of these two last points can really be proven textually, but the similarities exist, quite apart from the fact that both writers are describing the same events. Further, both these passages occur in a section of the work in which there are definite indications that Raymond employed the Gesta Francorum. This section is, in fact, the least satisfactory part of the whole work, covering as it does the period from the Count's arrival at Constantinople, to the beginning of the siege of Antioch. It is evident on any reading that Raymond did not feel closely engaged by the events he is describing; quite the contrary; equally this is a very uninformative passage. It is possible, therefore, that Raymond used the Gesta Francorum for this quite considerable section of his work, in order to expand his own memories of events, or to bolster his

1. vid. sup. pp. 20-21.

2. Gesta, Lib. II, viii, pp. 14-15.

3. vid. sup. pp. 24-25.

4. Gesta, Lib. III, ix, pp. 18-21.

journey notes.

In no way does this constitute interpolation; Raymond incorporated the account of the Gesta into his own account, and supplemented it. There is nothing in any of the manuscripts to suggest that there is interpolation here, while the information which is quite definitely not derived from the Gesta is very clearly Raymond's own; thus there is a description of a miracle at Dorylaeum not recorded in the Gesta;¹ nothing could be more characteristic of Raymond's preoccupations than that.

The similarities pointed to by Klein and Hagenmeyer do exist, even if in many cases these writers have overstated their case. It is hard to believe that such similarities are wholly fortuitous; on the other hand it is impossible to construct upon such very thin evidence, (and there is nothing else to support it) the hypothesis that Raymond made considerable and continuous resort to the Gesta Francorum. In fact we are forced to the conclusion that Raymond's dependence upon the Gesta can only be proven for a short but not inconsiderable passage early in the work; that apart, all that can be said is that certain passages in the Historia are very reminiscent of the Gesta Francorum and may reflect Raymond's undoubted knowledge of that work.

1. vid. sup. pp. 25-26.

APPENDIX III.

The use of the "Historia Francorum qui ceperunt
Iherusalem" of Raymond of Aguilers in other
sources for the First Crusade.

The chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers appears to have had a fairly wide circulation throughout the middle ages, as is indicated by the provenance of existing manuscripts. "A" (B.M. (add.) 8927), a manuscript of the mid-twelfth century, is almost certainly of Flemish origin,¹ while "B" was probably copied at the Abbey of Ripol in Catalonia, in the later thirteenth century,² and "K" (B.N. 6041A), a fourteenth or fifteenth century transcript, is of Italian origin.³ The Gesta Francorum,⁴ was even more popular, partly due to its early use, by Bohemund, as a propaganda work.⁵ In an age when plagiarism was the rule rather than the exception, it was inevitable that such popular works as these should come to be used by other people concerned to tell the story of the First Crusade. The case of the Gesta Francorum is, of course, quite notorious; until the work of Thurot,⁶ and Hagenmeyer,⁷ it was assumed that this important primary source for the

1. vid. sup. General Description of the Manuscripts, p.CIII

2. vid. sup. ibid. pp.CVI - CVII.

3. vid. sup. ibid. p. CXXVI.

4. This is a useful short title; it has been variously edited as: Hagenmeyer Anonymi Gesta Francorum, (Heidelberg 1890): Bréhier, Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade, (Paris 1934): R. Hill, Gesta Francorum et aliorum Ierosolimitanorum, (London 1963).

5. Bréhier, op. cit., Introduction Pp. i - ; also A.C. Krey, A neglected Passage in the Gesta, in Essays presented to Dana Munro, (New York 1928).

6. Études critiques sur les Historiens de la première Croisade, in Revue Historique, T.I. 1876, pp. 67.

7. Op. cit.

history of the First Crusade was only a contraction of the Historia de Hierosolimitano itinere of Peter Tudebode,¹ whereas it is now established that in fact Tudebode's work was based on that of the Anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum. The work of Raymond of Aguilers was also used by other writers, though never so widely.

In general it is fairly easy to discover when, and at what points, any particular writer chose to use the Historia Francorum as a source of information. Raymond had a particular and Provençal standpoint; as a fund of information concerning the doings of the Southern French on the Crusade he was a better source than any, and indeed almost the only one. Hence a later chronicler displaying detailed knowledge of the Provençal army will almost invariably be found to have used the Historia Francorum. However Raymond's particular outlook limited his use to later writers. The strong Provençal outlook biased the work in their view, and the dominant position in the work of the affair of the Holy Lance must have made it in some ways rather hard to use, as compared with the Gesta Francorum, for example.

Certain writers did, however, make appreciable use of the Historia Francorum, and the purpose of this present section is to indicate to what extent they used it, and more importantly, to indicate the textual value, in the preparation of a critical edition, of this use. Thus it is not intended to duplicate

1. Thus, for example, the edition of the Gesta Francorum in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, pp. 119-163, was published, along with other works, under the general title Tudebodus Abreviatus.

the specialist studies of particular histories and their sources.¹

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1. e.g. Kugler, Albert von Aachen, (Stuttgart 1885). Kugler's study indicates that Albert did not in fact employ the Historia Francorum in writing his own history.

The *Historia Hierosolymitana*¹ of Fulcher of Chartres.

In the First Book of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres, which covers the period from the Council of Clermont to the death of Godfrey of Bouillon on 18th July, 1099, it seems likely that Fulcher had access to a copy of the *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers. Fulcher himself was, of course, an eyewitness to the events of the crusade, but from October 1097 till Christmas 1099 he was with Baldwin at Edessa.² To this extent he had been out of touch with the events which produced the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem. Hagenmeyer considered that Fulcher used as his sources the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the *Historia Francorum*, and certain of the letters of the Crusader princes.³

Hagenmeyer points to a number of places where he thinks that Fulcher used the *Historia Francorum*;⁴ not all of these it would seem to me are in any way conclusive; certain of them however are extremely important and bear out Hagenmeyer's general contention that Fulcher did have access to, and used Raymond's work.

Fulcher gives what is in effect an outline survey of the

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1. Edited in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, pp. 317-485. This edition has been superseded by that of Hagenmeyer *Fulcheri Carnotensi Historia Hierosolymitana*, (Heidelberg 1913), which will be cited here.
 2. Hagenmeyer's *Einleitung*, section I gives the best account of his career on the crusade.
 3. Hagenmeyer, *Einleitung*, 5; *Die Quellen der Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 65-70.
 4. *ibid.*, p. 67, n.I.

course of the First Crusade from a North French viewpoint. When, however, he comes to deal with the affair of the Holy Lance it is clear that he based his account upon that of Raymond of Aguilers. Fulcher relates that Peter Bartholemew revealed his vision to the Legate and the Count of St. Gilles, and that ... id Episcopus falsum esse putavit, comes vero verum speravit.¹ This appears to reflect the statement in the Historia Francorum that Episcopus autem nihil esse praeter verba putavit: comes vero illico credidit.² Further, after describing the trial of the Lance Fulcher remarks ...comes tamen Raimundus diu eam (Lanceam) postea servavit.³ a point which Raymond of Aguilers is at pains to make in his account.⁴ This seems to be a very strong indication of Fulcher's use of the Historia Francorum, but two other passages also reflect it. Fulcher remarks that the Provençals were late in getting into the city of Jerusalem, and it seems possible that this is taken from Raymond's account.⁵ Finally Fulcher's passage of rejoicing at the fall of the city of Jerusalem shows a striking similarity in style and phraseology to that of Raymond of Aguilers:

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1. Fulcher, Lib. I, xviii, 2, p. 237.
 2. vid. sup. p. 100.
 3. Fulcher, Lib. I, XVIII, 5, p. 241.
 4. He mentions the Lance being taken to Ascalon: vid. inf. p. 364.
 5. Fulcher, Lib. I, XXVII, 11, pp. 299-300, et vid. sup. p. 345.

... clerici et laici,
exultationes voce altisona canticum novum Domino
decantando, hoc sacrosancto tamdiu desiderata, cum
oblationibus faciendas supplicationibusque humillis,
lachabriendi omnes visitaverunt.¹

None of this is of any great textual importance, but the fact that Fulcher used Raymond's work enables us to state that it was circulating in Jerusalem at least by a very early date. Fulcher began his work in 1101: Wahrscheinlich was es in jenem Spätjahr 1101, als er in Jerusalem seine Historia Hierosolymitana zu schreiben begann² and the first section was finished by about 1105. Fulcher's use of the Historia Francorum, in fact provides our very earliest reference to the work. Raymond's work, in fact, must have been completed very soon indeed after the end of the First Crusade.

1. Fulcher, *Lib. I*, XXIX, 2, p. 305, and compare supra pp. 347-348.

2. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*, Einleitung, I, p. 12.

The Historia de Hierosolimitano Itinere¹ of Peter Tudebode.

As has been indicated above,² modern critical study has indicated that Peter Tudebode, the priest of Civray,³ based his work very largely upon that of the Anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum; he also, however, made considerable use of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilera. As Peter had been on the First Crusade⁴ it must not be assumed that any information found in his work and demonstrably not derived from the Gesta Francorum is derived from Raymond of Aguilera, even if Raymond does himself mention it. This introduces a complication into a Quellenstudie of Peter's Historia, and points the need for the exercise of considerable caution in attributing any part of Peter's narrative to his use of other sources.

It is very difficult to say with whom Peter travelled on the First Crusade, because his use of the Gesta Francorum, extensive as it is, distorts his standpoint. It seems very unlikely, however, that he could have travelled with the South Italian Normans from Italy to Constantinople, although it is possible that he joined them thereafter. He is not well informed about the activities of the Count of Toulouse, so it does not seem very probable that he attached himself to the Provençals, although he may well have marched with them from

1. Edited in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, pp. 1-118. Only this edition will be cited.

2. vid. sup. pp. CCXXXIX - CCXL.

3. R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, Préface, p. 11.

4. *ibid.*

Marra. He displays no special interest in the affair of the holy Lance, and this indicates that perhaps he belonged to a neutral party, the North French. Indeed it is suggested in the preface of the R.H.C. edition that the Poitevins, perhaps under Gaston de Bearn,¹ at first marched with the north French, and only later with the Provençals,² and this seems likely.

Despite these difficulties it is quite clear that Peter's description of the march of the Provençal army across the Balkans to Constantinople³ was taken from that of Raymond of Aguilers. It is in fact, a condensation of the passage found in the Historia Francorum,⁴ transposed into Peter's own style. This is very similar to his treatment of the corresponding passage in the Gesta Francorum: Tudebode n'a donc fait ici que résumer le texte de l'Anonyme en négligeant des faits intéressants.⁵ But as compared with his treatment of the Gesta, Peter leaves relatively little information out of his condensation of the Historia Francorum. He says little of the progress of the army through Dalmatia, but after Dyrachium he leaves pretty well nothing out. In telling the story of the wounding of the Bishop of Le puy, he directly quotes Raymond's own words; Sed quia tantus pontifex adhuc populo Dei erat necessarius, per

1. vid. sup. p. 331 et n.a.

2. R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, Préface, p. 111.

3. Tudebode, Thema II, 111, p. 18 - vi, p. 21.

4. vid. sup. pp. 6-14.

5. Histoire Anonyme de la première Croisade, (ed. Bréhier) (Paris 1924), Introduction, p. xiii.

eius misericordiam vitae reservatus est.¹ The story of the Count of Toulouse's decision to leave his army and go to Constantinople at the request of the Emperor is related almost exactly as in the Historia Francorum,² except that Raymond's charge that the Count was lured by the figment of an impending battle is left out.³

Raymond of Aguilier's own account of the negotiations between the Count of Toulouse and the Emperor Alexius is based upon that of the Gesta Francorum,⁴ but it is clear that Tudebode chose to take his account from the Historia Francorum, for he reproduces the ironic words of the Emperor to the Count's protest about the spoiling of his army;⁵

Verum tamen non per meum consilium hoc factum est, et, me sciente, nulla laessio fuit inter eos. Sed hoc satis scio quoniam exercitus tuus damnum mihi intulit. Latus enim et castella et civitates in mea fregunt terra. Ibique satisfactionem fideliter concedo, et dominum Boamundum tibi in fiducium do.⁶

The last sentence is the report of Raymond of Aguilers put into the mouth of the Emperor, but there is little doubt that this account is taken from the Historia Francorum, although no

1. Tudebode, Thema II, iv, p. 19, et vid. sup. p. 12.

2. Tudebode, Thema II, vi, p. 20, et vid. sup. pp. 13-14.

3. vid. sup. p. 14.

4. vid. sup. Appendix II, pp. CCXXVII - CCXXXI.

5. vid. sup. pp. 16-17.

6. Tudebode, Thema II, vii, p. 21.

mention is made of the arrival of the Bishop of Le Puy.¹

This is really the sum total of the use Tudebode made of the Historia Francorum. It is true that from the first Tudebode refers to the visionary as Petrus Bartholomeus,² the full name given by Raymond,³ and the Gesta calls him only Petrus,⁴ but Tudebode himself went on the Crusade. There are other doubtful cases, but it must be assumed that Peter took them from memory, rather than from the Historia Francorum, because the evidence for derivation is so tenuous.

Two curious textual points emerge from this examination. The first is that Tudebode gives a rather garbled account of the slaying of the two brothers near Dirachium, and this seems to reflect a copying error, presumably in his own copy;

<u>Tudebode</u>	/	<u>Raymond of Aguilers</u>
<u>interfecerunt quendam egregium</u>	/	<u>...Pontium Raginaldum inter-</u>
<u>militem, cui nomen Pontius</u>	/	<u>fecerunt,</u>
<u>Raginaldus erat. Fratrem quo-</u>	/	<u>et fratrem suum Petrum mortaliter</u>
<u>que suum vulneraverunt graviter</u>	/	<u>vulneraverunt.</u> ⁵

The second is that Peter makes no reference to the Bishop of Le Puy's being left at Thessalonica, mentioned in only two manuscripts of the Historia Francorum, "D"⁶ (Bib. nat. lat.

1. vid. inf. p. 17.

2. Tudebode, Thema X, x, p. 70.

3. vid. sup. p. 138, et n.a.

4. Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxv, p. 59.

5. Tudebode, Thema II, iiii, p. 19; et vid. sup. p. 10 et n.c.

6. vid. sup. p. 13, v.2.

5511A) and "J"¹ (the Bongars edition). This is a fact of considerable bearing in discussing the textual tradition of the Historia Francorum.²

Most important of all, however, is the fact that Tudebode's use of the Historia Francorum provides us with evidence that the chronicle was known in Western Europe at a fairly early date. Tudebode wrote between 1102 and 1111,³ and from this we gather that Raymond's chronicle had, by that time, reached Western Europe.

1. *ibid.*

2. *vid. sup.* Critical Introduction, Section II, p. CXLVII.

3. Histoire Anonyme, (ed. Bréhier), Introduction, pp. xii.

The Historia Belli Sacri.¹

Quite considerable use was made by the Anonymous author of this chronicle of the work of Raymond of Aguilers. As in the work of Peter Tudebode,² the Count of Toulouse is referred to as having passed through Sclavonia, in a list of the itineraries of the Crusader Princes, but the Anonymous gives rather more detail than Tudebode.³ The account in the Historia Belli Sacri, however, of the march of the Provençals from Dirachium to Constantinople,⁴ very closely resembles that of Peter Tudebode.⁵ The Anonymous repeats Peter's confusion concerning the death of the two brothers near Dirachium,⁶ and gives us precisely the same account of the departure of the Count from Rodestol, and his dispute with the Emperor.⁷ As it seems unlikely that independently the Anonymous could have so exactly reproduced the condensation of Peter Tudebode it would seem likely that for this passage of the work he was dependent, for his knowledge of the Historia Francorum, upon the Historia de Hierosolimitano Itinere. But

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1. Edited in R.H.C. (Oce.) vol. III, as Historia de via hierosolymis, p. 165-229.
 2. Tudebode, ed. cit. Thema I, Cap. V, pp. 13-14.
 3. Historia Belli Sacri, (H.B.S.) Cap. V, p. 175.
 4. H.B.S. Cap. XIII-SVIII, pp. 178-180.
 5. Tudebode, Cap. II-VIII, pp. 18-22.
 6. H.B.S. Cap. XIII, p. 178 and Tudebode, Thema II, iii, p. 19.
 7. H.B.S. Cap. XV, p. 179 and Tudebode, Thema II, vi, p. 20.

the author of the Historia Belli Sacri was not entirely dependent upon the work of Peter Tudebode for his knowledge of the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers. As has been indicated, he gives a slightly more detailed account of the march of the Provençals through Solavonia.¹ Also, and more importantly, he gives Raymond's account² of the illness and miraculous recovery of the Count on the march across Asia Minor,³ which is entirely omitted by Peter Tudebode.

In short, the author of the Historia Belli Sacri was largely, though not entirely dependent upon Peter Tudebode for his knowledge of the work of Raymond of Aguilers. Textually therefore this chronicle adds nothing to our knowledge of the transmission of the text of the Historia Francorum for the only passages reproduced independently of Tudebode are non-controversial. However it has a certain value.

The author of the Historia Belli Sacri is thought to have been a monk of Monte Cassino, who had himself travelled to the Holy Land, and wrote his chronicle at some time after 1132.⁴ His use of Raymond's chronicle is, therefore, testimony to its rapid dissemination in the West. Further it may be remarked that Manuscript K, which is really a copy of the Historia Belli Sacri, contains in the place of its opening chapters, a section, in altered form, taken from the Historia

1. vid. sup. p.CCL.

2. vid. sup. pp. 26-28.

3. H.B.S. Cap. XXX, p. 184.

4. R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. III, Préface, pp. xiii-xvii, and Runciman, op. cit., vol. I (The First Crusade), Appendix I, p. 331.

Francorum, describing the Crusade down to the beginning of the seige of Antioch.¹ "K" is a fourteenth century manuscript, and it would appear that from a very early date the text of these two chronicles, and that of Peter Tudebode were closely connected.

1. vid. sup. pp. CXXVI - CXXVII.

Chronicon monasterii Sancti Petri Aniciensis.¹

This is not in any sense a history of the First Crusade, but the story of the Abbey of St. Peter of Le Puy from its founding, between 990 and 993, and the year 1130. However, the monks were undoubtedly interested by the doings of Adhémar who had frequently acted as their protector, and the entries for the years 1095 to 1097 are concerned with his doings on the First Crusade.² No study has yet appeared of this chronicle, and its date of composition is very difficult to fix, but it seems likely that it was written on the basis of older material somewhere about the time of its terminal date. Certainly it deals with many sections as a whole, notably the career of the Bishop of Le Puy, and there is some evidence for believing that that part dealing with the Crusade was based upon the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers.

The passage, in fact, dealing with the activities of the Legate on the Crusade reads like an abstract from the Historia Francorum, with certain omissions, but clearly slightly augmented from local knowledge. Thus as in Raymond's work we are told that the Bishop travelled via Solavonia, while no reference is made to his activities at Constantinople³ but his part in the siege of Nicaea is narrated;⁴ this is very much Raymond's emphasis. Again, as in the

1. Edited in the Certulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Chaffre du Monastier, (Paris 1884) by U. Chevalier. (Sancti Petri).

2. Sancti Petri, CCCCXVI, pp. 163-164.

3. Sancti Petri, CCCCXVI, p. 163.

4. *ibid.*

Historia Francorum the role of the Bishop at the Battle of Dorylaeum is discussed, and we are told that the army spent three days collecting plunder.¹ It is important to note that Dorylaeum is referred to as the battle which took place in campo Florido,² which is the name which some manuscripts of the Historia Francorum use.³ No mention is made of events down to the beginning of the siege of Antioch, and this parallels Raymond's silence.⁴ The outline of the siege of Antioch is very brief indeed and makes no particular reference to the activities of the Bishop, and could easily be based on Raymond's account.⁵ Certain differences are notable; no mention is made in the Chronicon of the wounding of Adhémar described by Raymond,⁶ while the writer strongly implies that the Bishop ordered the rest after the battle of Dorylaeum, and was therefore in charge of the army.⁷ Finally it is stated that after the battle with Kerbogah Adhémar preached a sermon urging the Crusade on to Jerusalem.⁸ The Bishop's death is recorded as having occurred on Kalendis Augusti.⁹

1. Sancti Petri, CCCCXXVI, p. 163.

2. *ibid.*

3. *vid. sup.* p. 24 v. 4.

4. *vid. sup.* pp. 26-29.

5. Sancti Petri, CCCCXXVI, pp. 163-4; *et vid. sup.* pp. 29-77.

6. *vid. sup.* pp. 12-13.

7. Sancti Petri, CCCCXXVI, p. 163.

8. *ibid.*, p. 164.

9. *ibid.*

Despite the notable differences I am inclined to believe that this section of the Chronicon was based on Raymond's work, largely because it reflects Raymond's emphasis, particularly in the complete lack of any information concerning the legates' ecclesiastical functions. Also it is clear that the account of the Bishop on Crusade was written in one piece at one time well after the events described, and the passage does not really read like a composition from various sources, though evidently material extraneous to Raymond's chronicle is included.

Textually the passage casts no light on the manuscript history of the Historia Francorum; even the omission of any reference to the Bishop resting at Thessalonica¹ being inconclusive because of the compressed nature of the account. It should be noted that the Gesta Adhemari Episcopi Podiensis Hierosolymitana² is only this section of the Chronicle of St. Peter of Le Puy extracted from the work as a whole.

1. vid. sup. p.13, v.2.

2. Edited in R.H.C. (Occ.), vol. V, Narrationes Minores IV, pp. 354-5.

The Provençal Chanson d'Antioch, attributed to Gregory
Bechada.¹

Unfortunately only a small fragment of this work exists; some 19 verses describing the opening of the battle with Kerbogah. Meyer suggests² that Gregory's chief source for his composition was the romance tradition which lies behind the French Chanson d'Antioch,³ itself only a remnant of a larger epic narrating the story of the whole crusade,⁴ but it is possible that Bechada was at least acquainted with the Historia Francorum.

The description of the Frankish sortie from Antioch in the Chanson is given in the form of a dramatic dialogue between Kerbogah and one of his Emirs, called in the Chanson Arloy.⁵ The Chanson d'Antioch itself has an exactly similar passage.⁶ The detail given in the Provençal version, however, that Kerbogah and Arloy were playing chess when the Franks made their sortie is not found in the North French Chanson. Raymond of Aguilers narrates, however, that as the Franks came out of Antioch Kerbogah was playing chess

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1. Edited by P. Meyer; Fragment d'une Chanson d'Antioche en Provençal, in Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol. II, (1884) pp. 467-509.
 2. *ibid.*, pp. 467 et seq.
 3. Edited by P. Paris in 1848.
 4. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
 5. Chanson (ed. Meyer) v, I, p. 473.
 6. Chanson d'Antioch (ed. P. Paris), Chant Huitième, X, p. 208 - XXIV, p. 228.

with an Emir whom he calls Mirdalin;¹ Fulcher of Chartres relates the same story, calling the Emir Amirdalis.² It is possible, given Fulcher's known use of the Historia Francorum,³ that he took this story from Raymond's work, and that Gregory Bechada subsequently took the story from one or the other chronicle. However it is known that Gregory Bechada went on the crusade,⁴ and Meyer gives his work a date of composition in the first third of the twelfth century.⁵ In view of this, and the fact that this is a picturesque detail, it is possible that the story of all three eyewitnesses reflects popular contemporary tradition which later became fused into the Chanson tradition. The failure of the Chanson d'Antioch to include it, is however, odd.

The Chanson relates that Kerbogah offered the Franks a suggestion whereby 30 champions of each side should dispute the fate of Antioch.⁶ Raymond of Aguilers relates the same story, giving, however, each side only five or ten champions, and saying that such a proposal had already been

1. vid. sup. p. 125.

2. Fulcheri Carnotensis, (ed. Hagenmeyer) Lib. I, cap. XXII, 4 & 5, p. 253.

3. vid. sup. pp. CCXLII - CCXLIV.

4. Meyer, op. cit., p. 467.

5. ibid.

6. Chansen, v IX & X, pp. 479-480.

made to Kerbogah by the Franks;¹ presumably this latter refers to the terms of the mission of Peter the Hermit sent to demand the withdrawal of the Turks after the discovery of the Lance.² Fulcher, in relating the mission of Peter the Hermit, gives exactly these terms, but with the numbers of the champions at V aut per X aut per XX seu per C milites.³ Again it is not possible to definitely attribute this story found in the Chanson to Raymond of Aguilers. Possibly all three chroniclers are simply, in very different ways, relating what they saw and heard to happen.

In one passage it is possible that Gregory Bechada used Raymond's work. Raymond tells the story of the death of Heracle de Polignac, a local Lord from Le Puy,⁴ saying that he was killed by an arrow in the face.⁵ The Chanson adds the detail that he was also wounded, by a lance, in the arm.⁶ It is possible that Gregory got this story from the Historia Francorum, but he was also Provençal and far more interested than Raymond in the doings of particular nobles of the Languedoc.

No real connection can be proven between the text of the Provençal Chanson d'Antioch and that of the Historia

1. vid. sup. p. 127.

2. vid. sup. pp. 120-121.

3. Fulcheri Carnotensis (ed. Hagenmeyer), Lib. I, Cap. XXI, 1, p. 248.

4. vid. sup. p. 130, n.a.

5. vid. sup. p. 130.

6. Chanson, v, XVIII, p. 493.

Francorum, although there are certain interesting similarities. It is, however, curious that at the two points at which Gregory's narrative resembles that of Raymond, it also resembles that of Fulcher of Chartres. This is particularly odd as no other eyewitness or otherwise independent source relates either of these two stories. In the matter of the death of Heraclius, this of course was a matter of no interest to the North French Fulcher.

Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum¹ of William of Tyre.

William of Tyre was the first historian of the First Crusade to make a careful and systematic use of the Historia Francorum of Raymond of Aguilers. William was concerned to write much more than a history of the First Crusade, and he is indeed our best source for the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.² For his account of the First Crusade William, writing some seventy years later, was dependent, as we are, on earlier works, and indeed his account of the events leading up to the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was largely dependent upon that of Albert of Aix,³ though not uniquely.⁴ He also, however, made careful and discriminating use of the work of Raymond of Aguilers, and not solely to gain information concerning the doings of the Provencals, but also to expand and enlighten the accounts of his other sources.

For William the Historia Francorum was a mine of information to be used and expanded in the light of his other sources. He did not simply include stray sections of Raymond's work in his own, but integrated his information with that of other historians and transposed it into his own style, often

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1. Edited in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. I.
 2. Runciman, op. cit., vol. I (The First Crusade), Appendix I, p. 331.
 3. Historia Hierosolimitana, edited in R.H.C. (Occ.) vol. IV, pp. 265-713.
 4. For a full discussion of all William's sources, vide H.G. Prutz, Wilhelm von Tyrus (Munich 1883).

basing his own interpretations on the result of the fusion. William's account of the march of the Provencal army through the Balkans, and the doings of the Count at Constantinople, a period for which William relied very heavily upon the Historia Francorum, may be analysed in detail in order to illustrate William's method.

The Archbishop of Tyre's knowledge of the Historia Francorum was quite clearly first hand. In the course of the story of the march down to Dirachium he mentions the Count of Toulouse's mutilation of his prisoners,¹ which none of the other writers who used Raymond's work mention at all. It is noteworthy, however, that even at this stage William carefully refers to the area through which the Provencals had marched by the name which he knew to be correct, Dalmatia,² rather than the Sclavonia³ of Raymond of Aguilers, and that he gives a list of the nobles travelling with the Count which is in fact derived from Albert of Aix.⁴ When William comes to describe the march across the Balkans to the Golden Horn it is notable that Raymond's bitterly anti-Byzantine prejudice is smothered, and this perhaps reflects William's own pro-Byzantine policies. It is perhaps for this reason that the killing of the two brothers near Dirachium,

1. W of T. Lib. II, xvii, p. 98 et vid. sup. p. 7.

2. W of T. Lib. II, xvii, p. 96.

3. vid. sup. 6 et n.b.

4. W of T. Lib. II, xvii, p. 96, et A.A. Lib. II, xxiii, pp. 316-317.

related by Raymond,¹ is ignored. Raymond of Aguilers says that at Dirachium the Count received friendly letters from Alexius;² William develops this and produces a very high flown piece of prose as the Epistolam cuius hic tenor erat...³ This is indubitably William's own elaboration, and reflects both a mannerism of his style, and his pro-Byzantine orientation. William only once comes at all close to directly quoting Raymond of Aguilers; when he reflects upon the preservation of the Bishop of Le Puy from death at the hands of the Patzinacks;

<u>William of Tyre</u>	/	<u>Raymond of Aguilers.</u>
<u>Sed quia tantus pontifex adhuc</u>		<u>Sed quia tantus pontifex adhuc</u>
<u>populo</u>	/	<u>populo Dei erat necessarius, per</u>
<u>Dei erat necessarius casu per</u>		<u>eius misericordiam vitae est</u>
<u>eius</u>	/	<u>reservatus.</u> ⁴
<u>misericordiam vitae est</u>		
<u>reservatus.</u>	/	

In this passage of course the Archbishop was entirely dependent upon the account of the Canon of Le Puy.

The account of the remainder of the march through the Balkans follows Raymond very closely, but no mention is made of the storming of Rossa,⁵ or the Patzinack attacks so dwelt upon by Raymond of Aguilers. William does say that the army

1. vid. sup. p. 10.

2. vid. sup. p. 11.

3. W of T. Lib. II, xviii, p. 99.

4. W of T. Lib. II, xviii, p. 99.

5. vid. sup. p. 12.

passed through Thessalonica,¹ but he does not say, as do certain manuscripts of the Historia Francorum, that the Bishop was left there to recover from his wounds.² It is unlikely, had this been stated in the manuscript William used, that William would have omitted it, and this variant is the only reference to this city in any manuscript of Raymond's work; probably William mentioned it because he knew the army, travelling as it was along the 'Via Egnatia' would have had to pass this, the biggest Greek city in the balkans. The account of the summoning of the Count of Toulouse to Constantinople follows that of Raymond of Aguilers very closely,³ but the Archbishop's account of the negotiations between the Count of Toulouse and the Emperor contains what appears to be William's own conjecture. After narrating the refusal of the Count to take the oath to the Emperor, William suggests that Alexius ordered the attack upon the Provencal forces; this is entirely William's own suggestion.⁴ The remainder of the account of the negotiations follows the account of Raymond largely,⁵ though it shows clearly the influence of Albert of Aix in the matter

1. W of T. Lib. II, xviii, p. 9.

2. vid. sup. p. 13 v. 2.

3. W of T. Lib. II, xviii-xix, pp. 99-101, et vid. sup. pp. 13-14.

4. W of T. Lib. II, xix, p. 100.

5. W of T. Lib. II, xxi, p. 104, et vid. sup. pp. 16-18.

of chronology,¹ and William chose to accept Albert's statement that the Count received presents from Alexius, rather than Raymond's specific statement to the contrary.²

It is clear then that William's use of the Historia Francorum is very sophisticated, and even in this period when he was heavily dependent upon the Historia Francorum he modified and developed it in the light of other sources, and his own prejudices and interpretations. Despite this, because of Raymond's particular standpoint information gleaned from his work can be isolated from the rest of the work. Throughout the rest of the work William continued to use the Historia Francorum whenever he thought it was appropriate.

William's account of the siege of Nicaea and the journey through Asia Minor is based on other sources, but the story of the illness and miraculous recovery of St. Gilles is taken from Raymond of Aguilers.³ The account also of the Council of leaders held before Antioch to decide whether to besiege the city closely or blockade it, is clearly taken from Raymond's account, although William does not state, as Raymond does, that the Count of Toulouse was strongly in favour of pressing an immediate siege.⁴

1. A.A. Lib. II, xx, pp. 313-314.

2. W of T. Lib. II, xxi, p. 104; A.A. Lib. II, xx, p. 314; et vid. sup. p. 18.

3. W of T. Lib. III, xviii, p. 158 et vid. sup. pp. 26-28.

4. W of T. Lib. IV, xii, pp. 171-172 et vid. sup. p. 29.

William's account of the siege of Antioch leans very heavily upon that of Albert of Aix, and only upon the Historia Francorum in matters bearing upon the doings of the Count of Toulouse. He does, however, make some use of Raymond's work. Thus in his account of the foraging expedition of Christmas 1097, William says that Robert of Flanders and Bohemond were chosen to go because:

Comes enim Normannorum aberat, et dux Lotharingiae, dominus Godfredus, lectu decubans, gravi molestabatur, aegritudine.¹

This clearly reflects Raymond's statement that the two men, Robert and Bohemond were chosen because:

Nam Normanniae comes eo tempore aberat, et dux maxime infirmabatur.²

William's account of the battle in the camp while the men of Robert and Bohemond were away leans very heavily upon that of Raymond of Aguilers who gives the best, and indeed the only real account of it, for the Provencals were left, under the Count, to guard the camp:³ Thus, accounting for the defeat of the Count of Toulouse William tells us;

...nostri equiti equum quendam vacuum, cuius dominum ad terram deiecerat, persequerentur, ut eum caperent,

1. W of T. Lib. IV, xviii, p. 182.

2. vid. sup. p. 38.

3. vid. sup. pp. 38-41.

quod videns populus infelix et indiscretus arbitrati
quod nostri equites timoris causa fugerent, in fugam
quoque se dederunt.¹

this is very clearly based upon Raymond's account:

Interea milites nostri equum quemdam, unde domini-
um suum delecerant, versus pontem nostrum assequebantur.
Quae populus noster videns, fugam militum arbitratus...²

The decision to build a fort in the camp of Bohemond was taken, according to the Gesta Francorum, in October 1097,³ but according to Raymond of Aguilers the decision to build Malregard was reached at the same time as that to build a fortress above the Bridge Gate, at a Council of 5th March, 1098.⁴ William of Tyre accepts Raymond's dating.⁵ It was, according to the canon of Le Puy, the Count of Toulouse who volunteered to garrison this fort, in order to restore his own prestige, ... ut desidiam et avaritiam excusaret;⁶ the Archbishop of Tyre gives precisely the same reason ... desidiam simul et avaritiam excusaret,⁷ and accepts Raymond's statement that this was done against the advice of

1. W of T. Lib. IV, xviii, p. 185.

2. vid. sup. p. 39.

3. Gesta, (ed. Hill), Lib. V, xiii, p. 30.

4. vid. sup. p. 60.

5. W of T. Lib. V, iii, p. 197.

6. vid. sup. p. 70.

7. W of T. Lib. V, vii, p. 206.

his own people.¹

William of Tyre's account of the capture of Antioch in general follows other sources, but in at least two respects it leans upon Raymond of Aguilers. William states that the Count of Toulouse gave Tancred 100 marks to fortify the St. Paul gate;² this statement is made only by Raymond.³ Further, although the account of the actual capture of Antioch is basically that of Albert of Aix, the story concerning the two lamps of the watch is taken from the Historia Francorum.⁴

During the second siege of Antioch Raymond relates that it was on the authority of the Bishop and Bohemond that the Gates were closed to prevent desertion, and this is accepted by William.⁵ In the matter of authority within the city William offers an interpretation based upon Raymond's statement that all the princes promised obedience to Bohemond for 15 days, by stating that obedience was promised for the duration of the crisis.⁶ He does, however, follow Raymond of Aguilers in accepting that the murum calceum was built about the citadel when the Count was left in charge of the city.⁷ It is, however, in the matter of the Holy Lance that William's

1. W of T. *ibid.*, et *vid. sup.* p. 70.

2. W of T. Lib. V, viii, p. 207.

3. *vid. sup.* pp. 73-74.

4. W of T. Lib. V, xxi, p. 228 et *vid. sup.* p. 77.

5. W of T. Lib. VI, v, p. 242 et *vid. sup.* p. 107. 7-88.

6. W of T. Lib. VI, v, p. 243, et *vid. sup.* p. 116.

7. W of T. Lib. VI, xvii, p. 264 et *vid. sup.* p. 121 et n.s.

dependence upon Raymond's account is most marked. William's account of the visions of Peter Bartholemew is very brief, but he does make Peter say that St. Andrew ter vel quatuor commonuerat diligentissime, before a final revelation, and this is very much in accord with the narration of Raymond of Aguilers who states that Peter said that ...Apostolus (Sanctus Andreas) me quatuor olim monuit.¹ There is a discrepancy of number here, but ter may reflect an unknown variant, and in any case it is quite difficult to sort out from Raymond's account that there were four visions before the final one. However, as Raymond states, according to William the matter was revealed to the Bishop and the Count only, not to the other leaders,² and while he never mentions any names or other details William implies that the vision of the priest Stephen (not mentioned by Albert of Aix, and always placed before that of Peter Bartholemew by other chroniclers)³ occurred after that of Peter Bartholemew, in accord with the chronology of Raymond of Aguilers.⁴ In only one matter concerning this affair does William differ from the account of Raymond; he accepts that statement of Albert of Aix that the Lance was dug up immediately.⁵

William next uses Raymond extensively in his account of

1. W of T. Lib. VI, xiv, pp. 256-258, et vid. sup. p. 89.

2. W of T. ibid. et vid. sup. p. 89.

3. e.g. in the Gesta, (ed. Hill), Lib. IX, xxiiii, pp. 57-58.

4. W of T. ibid. et vid. sup. p. 101.

5. W of T. ibid. A.A. Lib. IV, xliii, p. 419.

the disposal of the city of Albara to the new Bishop, Peter of Warbonne.¹ Williams's narrative of the election of Peter is clearly taken from that of Raymond of Aguilers, although it is embellished with details concerning the later ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See.² William states that the city was given to the Bishop by the Count in a passage strikingly close to that of Raymond of Aguilers:

<u>William of Tyre.</u>	/	<u>Raymond of Aguilers.</u>
<u>cui (episcopo) statim dimidium</u>	/	<u>Deo multas gratias protulit</u>
<u>civi-</u>	/	<u>quid Episcopum</u>
<u>tatis et universi contulit</u>	/	<u>Romanum in Orientali ecclesia</u>
<u>terri-</u>	/	<u>habere voluit pro sui admini-</u>
<u>torii. Deo gratias exhibens</u>	/	<u>strationem</u>
<u>quod per</u>	/	<u>Concessit Episcopo comes</u>
<u>eius operam et studium Oriens</u>	/	<u>medietatem</u>
<u>Epis-</u>	/	<u>civitatis et totius terri-</u>
<u>copum habuit Latinum.</u> ³	/	<u>torii.</u> ³

William's description of the seige of Marra, another mainly Provençal undertaking, is based upon that of Raymond of Aguilers, notably in the detail of the final seizure of the city by night.⁴ The subsequent quarrel between Bohemond and Raymond of Toulouse over the disposal of the city, otherwise recorded only by Raymond of Aguilers, is fully dealt with by the Archbishop of Tyre.⁵ William also records the

1. vid. sup. pp. 157-158.

2. W of T. Lib. VII, xviii, pp. 288-289.

3. W of T. Lib. VII, viii, pp. 288-89 et vid. sup. pp. 158-9.

4. W of T. Lib. VII, ix, p. 289, et vid. sup. pp. 174-175.

5. W of T. Lib. VII, ix, p. 292, et vid. sup. pp. 176-177.

death of the Bishop of Orange which occurred at the siege of Marra, in exactly the words used by Raymond in recalling his death during his narration of events after the capture of Jerusalem:¹ Dominus Willelmus, bonae memoriae, Aurasia-
censis Episcopus, vir religiosus ac timens Dei.²

William of Tyre's account of the Council at Rugia,³ the pressure of the suffering poor demanding to press on to Jerusalem, and of the Provencal raid into Saracen territory⁴ are all taken from the *Historia Francorum*, as indeed is William's description of the march of the army down to Arqa,⁵ though in a condensed form. It is only proposed here to detail certain omissions and points of particular interest made by William.

William's description of the departure of the Count from Marra is of some importance, for he speaks of the Count's being followed by Tancred and Robert of Normandy, each with an equal number of men:

Cui (Comiti) proficiscenti Normannorum comes
et dominus Tancredus, uterque cum quadraginta equitibus
et numerosa peditum.⁶

This is clearly William's rendition of a variant found only

1. vid. sup. pp. 351-352.

2. W of T. Lib. VII, xi, p. 293.

3. W of T. Lib. VII, xi, p. 293 et vid. sup. pp. 179-180.

4. W of T. Lib. VII, xii, p. 293 et vid. sup. p. 183.

5. W of T. Lib. VII, xii-xiv, pp. 294-297. sup. p. 183.

6. W of T. Lib. VII, xii, 295. sup. p. 183.

in certain manuscripts of Raymond's work, viz. A, C, E & G,¹
to the same effect;

Et consecutus est nos Tancredus cum quadraginta
militibus, et peditibus multis et Robertus Normanniae
comes cum LX militibus et peditibus multis.²

All other sources, if they mention the Duke of Normandy at all, state that he joined the Provençals at Kepharda,³ and those manuscripts of the Historia Francorum which do not contain this reading tend to support that statement.

No mention is made in William's account of the capture by Raymundus de Insula⁴ of a messenger of the Emir of Shaizar nor of the capture of a castle on a high mountain (probably the later Kerak des Chevaliers).⁵ Of the motives of the Count of Toulouse for besieging Arqa William accepts Raymond's suggestion of extortion, but suggests that the Count also gave weight to the possibility of freeing prisoners held by the Emir of Tripoli.⁶

William's account of the siege of Arqa⁷ leans heavily upon that of Raymond of Aguilers. It is particularly noticeable that, like Raymond, William practically ignores the fighting and concentrates upon the internal politics of the

1. vid. sup. pp. 185-186.

2. vid. sup. p. 186, v. 1.

3. Gesta (ed. Hill), Lib. X, xxxiiii, p. 81.

4. vid. sup. p. 187.

5. vid. sup. p. 194 et n.a.

6. W of T. Lib. VII, xiv, p. 298 et vid. sup. p. 200.

7. W of T. Lib. VII, xiv-xxi, pp. 297-309.

period. For the trial of the Lance¹ he was inevitably dependent upon the Historia Francorum, although he does not mention the last great vision of Peter Bartholemew² nor give a detailed description of the trial.³ However, William passed judgement cautiously upon the affair of the Lance. Some, he says, judged it to be a fraud, but,

Alii vero dicebant quod ab incendio sanus (Petrus) evaserat et incolumis, sed egressum ab igne, turbæ causa devotionis irruentes, oppresserant contristaverant eatenus, ut vitæ finem ministrarent.⁴

This is, of course, a summary of what Raymond himself says.

It was from Raymond's account that William gained his knowledge of both the Fatamid Embassy⁵ and the Imperial Embassy.⁶ The dating at this point is a little confused. It has already been indicated⁷ that chronology is a weak point of Raymond's, and William who had other accounts before him modified it considerably. William accepted the dating of the two Embassies before Easter 1099,⁸ but while Raymond implies that the Fatamid Embassy arrived before the

1. W of T. Lib. VII, xviii, pp. 304-305 et vid. sup. pp. 245-254.

2. vid. sup. pp. 219-229.

3. vid. sup. pp. 245-254.

4. W of T. Lib. VII, xviii, p. 305.

5. W of T. Lib. VII, xix, pp. 305-6 et vid. sup. pp. 208-211.

6. W of T. Lib. VII, xx, pp. 307-308.

7. vid. sup. Chap. I, Section XXX, p. XCI - XCII.

8. W of T. Lib. VII, xx, pp. 307-8.

appearance of Robert of Flanders and the Duke,¹ William appears to believe that it occurred only shortly before Easter.² Raymond dates the arrival of the Imperial Embassy at the beginning of Easter 1099 ...Et iam instabat Dominica Pascha but describes it after describing the trial of the Lance on Good Friday, and this precedent is followed by William,³ who however, also links the discussion about the Imperial terms with the disunity among the leaders mentioned elsewhere by Raymond,⁴ leading to the arrogance of the Emir of Tripoli.⁵ This leads William to date the despatch of the successful expedition to Tripoli before Easter 1099,⁶ while Raymond very clearly dates it after Easter.⁷ This chronological confusion in William's work reflects the generally bad chronology in all our sources of the siege of Arqa.

With the exception of the story of the Treaty with the Emir of Acre⁸ William's account of the march to Jerusalem is based upon Albert of Aix. In his description of the siege of Jerusalem, however, the Archbishop made extensive use of the Historia Francorum, especially for information concerning

1. vid. sup. pp. 208-211 et seq.

2. W of T. Lib. VII, xx, p. 307.

3. W of T. Lib. VII, xx, p. 308.

4. vid. sup. p. 218.

5. W of T. Lib. VII, xx, pp. 308-9.

6. ibid.

7. vid. sup. pp. 260-263.

8. W of T. Lib. VII, xxii, p. 312 et vid. sup. p. 297.

the doings of the Count of Toulouse. Curiously William makes no mention at all of Raymond's difficulties with his troops, so dwelt upon by Raymond of Aguilers.¹ William's description of the sufferings of the army before the city owes more to Raymond than to any other source,² while clearly he used the Canon of Le Puy's account of the expeditions of Raymond Peleth and Galdemar Carpinelli.³ The description of the building of the siege engines is mainly taken from Raymond's chronicle,⁴ but makes no mention of the vision of Peter Desiderius,⁵ and makes it quite clear that Realpolitik lay behind the procession around the city.⁶ In describing the actual assault upon the city William used Raymond very little, except to repeat the story of the unknown knight standing upon the Mount of Olives waving his shield.⁷ In William's account, however, he is seen first by the Duke, and only later by the Provençals. William also relates the story, found in Raymond's account, that the Bishop of Le Puy

1. vid. sup. p. 307.

2. W of T. Lib. VIII, vi-vii, pp. 331-334.

3. W of T. Lib. VIII, ix, pp. 336-338, et vid. sup. pp. 315-321.

4. W of T. Lib. VIII, x, pp. 339-40, et vid. sup. pp. 331-7.

5. vid. sup. pp. 325-327.

6. W of T. Lib. VIII, x-xi, pp. 339-341.

7. W of T. Lib. VIII, xvi, pp. 348-9 et vid. sup. p. 343.

was seen on the walls of the city during the assault.¹

William's account of the foundation of the kingdom of Jerusalem is very closely based on that of Raymond of Aguilers. In describing the election of a ruler for the city William repeats Raymond's story that the clergy protested that priority should be given to the election of a spiritual ruler, but the statement that the protest was led by the Bishop of Martirano and Arnulf of Choques is his own.² The Archbishop takes up the point made in the Historia Francorum that the clergy were weakened by the loss of the Papal Legate and the Bishop of Orange who had later tried to replace him.³ In discussing the Patriarchal election William repeated all the charges of Raymond against the Bishop of Martirano and Arnulf of Choques, fully endorsing, in fact, Raymond's attitudes.⁴

The account of the election of the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre substantially follows that of Raymond of Aguilers. Recording the election of the Duke, William says that the Count of Toulouse refused the crown through laziness.⁵ This seems to be William's own interpretation, based partly at least on the fact that Albert of Aix makes this accusation frequently, and that Raymond himself once appears to make

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1. W of T. Lib. VIII, xii, p. 349 et vid. sup. pp. 348-9.
 2. W of T. Lib. IX, ii, p. 365; et vid. sup. pp. 350-51
 3. W of T. Lib. IX, iv, p. 365 et vid. sup. pp. 351-2.
 4. W of T. Lib. IX, iv, p. 369 et vid. sup. p. 358.
 5. W of T. Lib. IX, ii, p. 367 et vid. sup. p. 353.

it.¹ More strikingly William records that at the time of the election many of the Count's own men were hostile to him, and this is certainly taken from Raymond's account.²

Finally the story of the loss by the Count of Toulouse of the tower of David, as told by Raymond, is repeated by the Archbishop, but while William narrates the involvement of the Bishop of Albara, he does not mention, as does Raymond, the use of coercion in the quarrel.³

1. vid. sup. p. 70.

2. W of T. Lib. IX, ii, p. 367 et vid. sup. p. 354.

3. W of T. Lib. IX, iii, pp. 367-368 et vid. sup. p. 355.

APPENDIX IV

The Conclusion of Manuscript "B" (B.N. lat. 513²).

The Conclusion of manuscript "B" (B.N. lat. 513²) is not the conventional ending of the Historia Francorum, nor is it an ending taken from any other extant source for the First Crusade. The section is quite long ; it begins on folio 15^v, and ends at 21. The main body of the passage consists of a description of the capture of Jerusalem, and a brief mention of the battle of Ascalon.

This section is quite clearly written from a Provencal point of view, and indeed could be regarded as an augmented version of the ending of the Historia Francorum. Much of Raymond's material appears to have been used ; for example the story of the mysterious knight waving on the Provencals into Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives¹ is used, but in a totally different way to that of Raymond of Aguilers. The whole conclusion is written in a windy and rhetorical style, liberally scattered, indeed one might say overloaded, with biblical quotations and references which help account for its length. But this is more than a merely written up version of Raymond's chronicle. A graphic description is given of a point in the seige when the Sarracens set up a machine which bombarded the Provencal camp², while reference is made to a certain Sarracen who the Count of Toulouse had been given by the king of Tripoli who came to Jerusalem at the behest of his master³. Both these stories sound authentic, but it is impossible to tell where the writer got them from.

Whatever the source of the writer, in terms of chronology it carried on further than Raymond's chronicle as it exists. The arrival

1. vid. inf, pp. CCLXXXIII - CCLXXXIV, et supra p. 343.

2. vid. inf. p. CCLXXIX.

3. vid. inf. p. CCLXXX.

Daimbert Archbishop of Pisa, and his installation as Patriarch is mentioned¹. This did not happen till Christmas of 1099². There is even a possible reference to the second battle of Ascalon, for it is stated that the Saracens tried to regain Jerusalem³.

It is possible that this passage is a compilation of the ending of Raymond's chronicle and material taken from another source no longer extant. The description of the machine bombarding the Provençal camp sounds authentic⁴, while the reference to the Saracen from Tripoli is very specific : Interim venerat dies illa in quo quidam Sarracenus quem Raymundus comes obsidem et praeivum a rege Tripolis acceperat⁵.

Whatever the unknown writers sources, and they may well have been close to the events described, the purpose of the passage is pretty clear⁶. It is evidently exhortatory in character. It is very liberally scattered with biblical references and quotations, while the final paragraphs⁶ are almost semi-liturgical. Perhaps it was designed to be read for edifying purposes, or even possibly it was used to help recruit for later crusades.

1. vid. inf. p. CCLXXXVI.

2. Runciman op. cit. vol. I, The First Crusade, Bk. V, p. 305.

3. vid. inf. p. CCLXXXVI.

4. vid. inf. p. CCLXXIX.

5. vid. inf. p. CCLXXX.

6. vid. inf. pp. CCLXXXVI et seq.

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